NEW MASSES

AUGUST 17, 1943 15¢ In Canada 20¢

TO THE EDITORS OF "THE NATION"

Whose moral integrity are you talking about?

By EARL BROWDER

WHAT WILL BECOME OF GERMANY?

By MICHEL ANDERS

CHANGING THE ALLIED TIMETABLE

A cable from London by Claude Cockburn and a military review by Joseph Reed

FOIBLES AND FABLES OF CLIFTON FADIMAN

By MICHAEL ROBERTS

CAN IT HAPPEN IN HARLEM AGAIN?

By the REV. BEN RICHARDSON

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT WAS one of those things that make you forget the dog days for a while: the art auction that NM put on in Hollywood recently. First of all, it was a "first" occasion —never before had we held an art auction on the West Coast, although of course there have been several (and very fine ones) in New York. Indeed, it was the first large affair under NM auspices to be held out there. And say all you like about East being East, and West being West, etc., there's definitely a meeting in cultural tastes, among other things. We have enthusiastic audiences at those auctions in New York and we certainly had the same in Hollywood. Over 300 people came, saw, and bought. The high point of the bidding came with the sale of an original Orozco, which finally went to Cecil B. DeMille of Paramount Studios for $1,000. The smallest item, a caricature, went for five dollars.

In between there were all ranges of price to suit budgets and artistic tastes—with all varieties of art to attract the buyer. For four days preceding the sale the paintings were exhibited at the Tennant Gallery, where the auction finally took place, so prospective bidders could make up their minds in advance on what they most wanted. Hollywood writers, directors, and producers, Hollywood plain citizens, Hollywood art connoisseur visited the gallery and later came to bid. Joseph Foster of NM's business department, who went out to the West Coast to supervise the auction, reports that several art dealers had expressed the opinion that the auction represented the greatest sale of modern paintings for any given evening in southern California.

Are we boasting? No—for as a matter of fact, the real credit for what happened in Hollywood belongs to our friends. There were the artists, among the finest in America, whose paintings brought the tremendous response which stamped the word success on the auction itself. We wish we could name them all here, but space doesn't permit. So we say a general thank-you to all of them—and say it from the bottom of our boots. We also thank, no less warmly, the auction committee that spent an impressive amount of time and thought to help make the affair go —Rockwell Kent, John Howard Lawson, William Gropper, Lewis Milestone, Orson Welles, Raphael Soyer, Denny Winters, Dalton Trumbo, and others.

We said it was a first occasion—it certainly won't be the last. Out there, there was a vigorous demand that we come back next year and "do it again." It wouldn't take much urging, in any case. The exceptionally strong tie that exists between NM and its readers is not confined to any region; we're convinced of that every time one of us takes an out-of-town trip, and this last experience in Hollywood confirms it all the more. The tie is composed of many things, some intangible and not easily enumerated. We are happy to contribute to it by a strengthening of cultural relationships, and an affair like the art auction is one more step—a big one—in that direction.

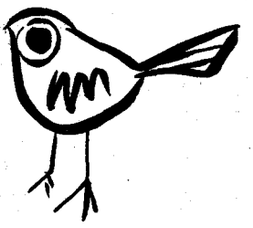
ANOTHER cheery note for the dog days: *despite* the dog days, NM's circulation has been keeping up very nicely. And that's a "first" too: as a rule there's a dropping off, come summer, just as in the case of most magazines. Well, it didn't happen to us this summer, which is a cause for celebration—and by celebration we mean that special patented NM cocktail which brings a flush of new energy to the most sunburned cheek and is best expressed in the slogan, "If it's good for me, why not for my friends?" In short: if you're one of those who helped keep the circulation above summer level, isn't this a good opportunity to bring it still higher? Well, isn't it?

We can't tell you exactly what did help the circulation this summer, but we get an idea from the letters from readers. The majority comment on the fact that NM keeps them abreast of a world that no longer slows up a little in summertime. Other letters are more specific. There's this one, for example, from John H. Sengstacke, head of the Abbott Publishing Company, which publishes the weekly *Chicago Defender*, the largest Negro newspaper in America:

"Please accept my congratulations on the issue which you called "Treason, Inc." [The special issue of July 7, on racism in America.] I was especially interested in the penetrating analysis given the Detroit race riot situation, by Louis E. Martin."

And there have been many letters about Ilya Ehrenburg's magnificent article on the slaughter of the Jews. Ehrenburg's flaming eloquence, the facts he had to relate, his appeal to mankind—these evoked from our readers also an eloquence which promises no good for the fascists of the world. More than one correspondent confessed that he read for a while against his own wishes, that he felt it was impossible to absorb so much horror, but that he *had* to go on reading, it was equally impossible to stop.

NOTICE: to Woodburn Harris, Vermont: Ruth McKenney has your splendid letter about *Jake Home* and would like to write you, but you did not send your address. Will you please write her again, care of NEW MASSES (104 East 9th St., New York City), enclosing your address?



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THIS WEEK — August 17, 1943

New Masses Spotlight 3
That Shipping "Surplus" Bruce Minton 8
Changing the Time Table Claude Cockburn 9
It Must Be Done Joseph Reed 10

What Will We Do With Germany? Michel Anders 11
Gropper's Cartoon 12
Can It Happen in Harlem Again? Rev. Ben Richardson 14
The Liberals and Moral Integrity Earl Browder 17
Prejudice Can't Build Unity An editorial article 18
Some Additional Views 20
Irving Flamm 20
Rev. Alson J. Smith 21
Rockwell Kent 21
William Carlos Williams 22
Reader's Forum 22

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Fadiman's Fables and Foibles Michael Roberts 24
Brooklyn Sunday Jane Burton 28
"This Is The Army" Daniel Prentiss 30
"The Second Mrs. Carroll" Joseph Foster 31

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Italy and Germany

THE British, with our blessings, have replied emphatically to Badoglio's double talk and double dealing. In the language of bombs, they have told him either to put up or shut up. For more than two weeks the crochety marshal has dallied and delayed, disdaining all Allied offers of an honorable capitulation. And the sole beneficiary of his political acrobatics has been Berlin, whose troops are now consolidating themselves in the Po valley. To match the unequivocal message from the RAF, the Italian national front issued over the *Milano-Liberta* radio what in effect is an ultimatum to both King and Premier. For its defiance of Italian will, the Badoglio government must resign and the King abdicate to make way for a provisional government of peace. Mussolini's successor cannot escape his obligations by saying that his *coup* was directed at fascism and not the war. "There can be no distinction," said the Italian National Front, "between the war and fascism, and the people do not draw such a distinction." With their patience sorely taxed, the Italian coalition of five parties begins, then, to point to the next step.

Badoglio, through the Rome radio, has been trying to say that the upsurge of popular feeling is responsible for his vacillation, that he must quell "revolutionary" impulses before he can begin to negotiate with the Allies. In this respect he has been echoing the Berlin broadcasters who justify the occupation of Northern Italy on the ground that it will safeguard the peninsula against Communism. From this meeting of minds is again evolving the formula with which to split the Allies—the hoary ghost of "Bolshevist menace." And integral to the formula, it is quickly becoming apparent, is the German advice to Badoglio to continue bargaining in order to avoid unconditional surrender. With the precedent of a negotiated peace established by Rome, the Nazis hope that they too will be able to use the precedent to save themselves from total capitulation.

A RENEWED campaign for a compromise peace, then, is foremost on the Nazi political agenda. For several days newspaper reports out of Madrid and Stockholm have been hinting of momentous changes in the German ruling apparatus. These reports are not verified but they are indicative of the storm brewing within Germany after the disastrous defeats at Orel and Belgorod, and the impending defeats in the Kharkov area. The reports claim that Army leaders have taken over, with Goering wearing Hitler's mantle. To save the Nazi facade, Hitler remains nominally head of the state as well as chief of that

"Look, General—we've captured Julius Caesar!"

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plunderbund known as the National-Socialist party. The reports speculate also that these surface alterations are to prepare Germany for a prolonged war of defense in case a negotiated peace cannot be attained.

It is this idea of a protracted struggle, against which Winston Churchill warned when he addressed Congress in May, that again underscores the urgency of a more intense warfare on the part of the Allies. The boiling caldron that is Europe, the great Soviet offensive, the rapid liquidation of Sicily, the political resurgence in Italy and the Balkans, make it unthinkable that an attack from the West can be delayed any longer. Military schedules obviously must be revised upwards to conform with the rapid pace of political events. And in connection with the crisis in Germany and the reports of internal changes, the New York *Herald Tribune* (August 9) was completely right when it insisted that "the only possible reply from the forces of freedom is to cement their political and military unity as closely as possible and to redouble the blows by which alone the fruits of German failures can now be gathered."

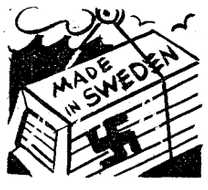
"In the Name of France . . ."

THERE was never any justice in the State Department's case against de Gaulle or the French Committee of National Liberation. The one lame reason on which the Department premised its refusal to recognize the Committee—its failure to resolve inner differences—collapsed under the weight of recent developments in Algiers. Unity has been forged, and within it there is now a clear division of functions whereby Giraud heads the armed forces while de Gaulle presides over a Committee of National Defense whose jurisdiction covers all but military questions. At meetings of the Liberation Committee, de Gaulle retains the chair when military affairs are not under discussion. Then Giraud presides. This solution will lead to more effective collaboration among all the liberation elements, and the felicity with which the compromise was reached expressed itself in a cordial exchange of letters between both generals.

Here, then, is unity—the unity which officials in Washington said was lacking and therefore precluded any dealings with the Committee. That issue is out of the way; squarely in our laps now is the whole question of recognition. Will we do less than what more than a half dozen governments have done in establishing diplomatic relations with Algiers? From London and Moscow correspondents indicate that both these capitals are eager to accord recognition and cannot understand the State Department's hesitation. And if our attitude is an enigma to two of our great Allies it must be an unholy mystery to the French people. They apparently wish that non-Frenchmen would worry less about matters involving their future government—a question they will handle at the proper time and in their own way—and instead seriously negotiate with their representatives in North Africa. They have placed their complete trust in the Liberation Committee. That fact was evident from the announcement of a five-point program prepared by the Council of Resistance in France and made public by Andre Philip, Commissioner of the Interior in the Liberation Committee. The last point of the program reads: "That the National Committee should from now on speak in the name of France and that it should represent France in the world and to the Allies."

The State Department has been under fire from one of its most loyal friends, the New York *Times*. And while the *Times* columnist Arthur Krock wrote an elaborate apologia for the news story his paper had published in criticism of the Department's poor administration and divided councils, the fact is that the Department has not pursued a vigorous anti-fascist policy. If the *Times* accusations are correct, and the Department's recent history confirms them in large part, then the President must act to bring its personnel into line and cleanse its operations of the ambiguities that befuddle our Allies and raise the most serious suspicions of our intentions in Europe. One way of making amends is forthwith recognition of the French Committee.

Sweden's Cautious Way



AFTER carefully scanning all the battlefields, the Swedish government has apparently concluded that the Allies will probably be the victors. Thus, her new agreement with the Germans to discontinue transit privileges to Nazi troops on "furlough" and the shipment of German war materials over Swedish railroads. It was a belated step although in one sense a heartening one. It was a tacit admission on the part of a neutral state that it too foresaw the Nazis' defeat. Nevertheless, Sweden's record in the war as a non-belligerent power has been most reprehensible. On two occasions she violated her neutrality status to the point where both the British government and the Norwegian government-in-exile issued emphatic notes of protest to Stockholm. In June 1941 the Swedish government permitted the transportation of a German division from Norway to Finland to take part in the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. That was quite in keeping with her record during the first Soviet-Finnish conflict when Stockholm sent planes and guns as well as 9,000 "volunteers" to assist Mannerheim. Throughout the war, and the latest agreement does not change this arrangement one bit, she has continually supplied Germany with iron ore eventually used against Allied troops. Berlin has been getting about forty percent of Sweden's exports consisting in large part of ball bearings, alloys, and machinery—all indispensable to the Nazi war plants. An additional forty-five percent of Swedish commodities has been going to German-occupied Europe. The Germans have been at the receiving end of all but fifteen percent of Swedish exports. These facts disclose the limited significance of last week's agreement. In the next weeks it is quite possible that Sweden's government, under the expanding pressure of public opinion, will scrape up enough courage to begin cutting down on her trade with the enemy. That will be a rather picayune contribution to an Allied victory from which Sweden will reap many benefits. Nazidom has been as much a threat to her independence as it has been to the democratic belligerents.

The Biddle Role

IF THERE is a hard way to do things, Attorney General Biddle will surely find it. His latest exploit is to get himself tangled up in the intricacies of the Smith-Connally anti-labor act, and to emerge breathlessly with a ruling that grants just a little more power to the statute's already ample ability to harm the war effort.

Mr. Biddle rules that a minority of employees in any war plant, at any time, for any reason, can violate union contracts, can disregard decisions of the National Labor Relations Board, and can ignore all logic by demanding a strike election. Just like that—any fascist-minded splinter group can impede the nation's productive energy.

Who asked for the ruling, hoping that Mr. Biddle would do just what he did? None other than that master of disruption, John L. Lewis. Sure enough, Lewis' raiding squad, known as District 50, raised a hullabaloo at the Allis-Chalmers plants in Springfield, Ill., where the workers chose

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a CIO union to represent them. The Lewis faction, a handful, insisted on a strike vote —and Biddle sanctioned it. The result was a majority in favor of a stoppage—not surprising in view of the profligate amount of funds dished out by the Lewis stooges, the Red-baiting hysteria, and the demagogic promise that a vote for strike would only be used to "pressure" the War Labor Board. Uninformed and misled, chafing from very real abuses which the WLB failed to rectify, the workers succumbed. With this victory under his belt, Lewis and his allies anticipated sweeping through war production centers, where they plan to divert attention from the main issue of smashing the Axis to the fake issue of jurisdictional disputes and strike "gestures."

The labor movement warned of this danger when the Smith-Connally bill was debated in Congress. Once the legislation was passed, both the AFL and CIO reaffirmed their no-strike pledge, and stated that they would do their utmost to prevent the measure from disrupting production. President Philip Murray, in the interest of the war, urged that administrative policies minimize the bill's harmful effects. Blithely, Mr. Biddle ignored labor, and passed down a ruling not essential to enforcing conformity with the act, but which strengthened Lewis, the Trotskyists, and other fascist agitators. As Mr. Murray wrote the President, "We find the Attorney General, with a complete and total disregard of our nation's needs, issuing an opinion reflecting a complete sense of irresponsiblity."

The Allis Chalmers debacle proves how correct was the President's veto. Now, with Mr. Biddle to make matters worse, there is an urgent need to persuade President Roosevelt to set aside the Attorney General's "ugly opinion which actually encourages stoppages of work." Still more, the country must meet the new threat to the domestic front by insisting that Congress undo its mischief by repealing an act passed to "get even" with the President, whatever the cost.

Are Fathers Exempt?

THAT old guardian angel of the American family, Sen. Burton K. Wheeler, is being hailed by the patrioteers of the Patterson-Hearst-McCormick newspaper axis as an "outspoken critic of any move that would break up families." For Wheeler has resumed his campaign against the Selective Service by opposing the draft of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers. "There is no reason to draft fathers except for the psychological effect that advocates of the plan think it would have at the peace conference," Senator Wheeler pontificates: building the army is nothing but another nasty Roosevelt "plot" to win the war at the earliest possible moment.

Wheeler and his America First appeaser friends propose instead that skilled workers who happen to be single should be routed out of war plants—a procedure that would break down production faster than any scheme yet hit upon by the fifth columnists. In addition, the draft of married men with children proves to Wheeler *et al.* that the Soviet Union is about to make a "separate peace" with the Axis. The reasoning may not be clear, but that doesn't faze Wheeler's crowd. The next step the Senator takes is to ask: Why should we go on fighting? Most of all, he wants to drag out the war by preventing the full and efficient use of our manpower resources. Behind his demagogy about the fate of the family he conceals his plot to diminish supplies of armaments going to American boys under fire.

The appeasers in their frenzy will do anything to prevent the annihilation of fascism. In opposing the draft of fathers, they see a chance to play upon the emotions of the people, to misrepresent, to undermine morale. The threat to convene Congress to prevent draft expansion is an attempt to arouse national hysteria. When the question of the teen-age draft arose, a few attempted to spread discontent—and failed. Now, too, the appeasers' sabotage can be met head on and defeated. It would be helpful if Selective Service would state exactly how and when the draft of fathers will take place. Furthermore, it is imperative that Congress provide adequate allowances to the families of those needed in the service. The best answer to appeasement is to convince the people that drafting fathers will speed the war's end, and to give those drafted the assurance that wives and children will be cared for properly.

Mr. Gannett's Worried

FRANK E. GANNETT, as publisher of a chain of nineteen newspapers which bear his name, has had considerable experience with exposes; but one expose he doesn't want to touch with a ten-foot pole is that by John Roy Carlson. The latter's book, *Under Cover*, contains so much dynamite about fascists and pro-fascists in America, that it throws the creeps into the GOP nabob, once aspirant for his party's nomination for the presidency. Mr. Gannett is currently engaged in a nationwide campaign to destroy the book; he is threatening libel suits against any bookdealer handling Mr. Carlson's expose. Nor is Mr. Gannett going it alone; he is joined by Joseph E. Kamp, head of the notorious Constitutional Educational League, who too is "threatening," and is burning up the telephone wires to bookstores in an effort to intimidate dealers. Regular NEW MASSES readers know a lot about Messrs. Gannett and Kamp: the former's organization was formerly headed by Dr. E. A. Rumely, indicted as a German agent in the last war, and has consistently allied itself with anybody who sees the President as a greater menace than Hitler. As far as Mr. Kamp is concerned: the United States government listed one of his organization's bulletin in connection with the indictment of the thirty-three persons for sedition.

All patriots will support the decision of E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., publishers of the book, to stick to their guns. They published the expose, they announced, "only after thorough editorial consideration and will continue to publish this book—any attempted intimidation notwithstanding." They feel so sure of their ground that they have arranged to provide protection for booksellers. The book sold so fast that the publisher has scheduled fourth, fifth, and sixth printings at once. We welcome the company's firm statement "against interference with freedom of the press," a phrase often found on the lips of such worthy publishers as Mr. Gannett for their own questionable purposes.

Several weeks ago Joseph North, in these pages, urged all Americans to read the book in question, despite the author's misapprehensions concerning the Marxist program in this country. To our New York readers we can supply the following information: you can get *Under Cover* at Gimbel's, Dutton's, Macy's, and some of the Womrath chain of bookstores. The sale has been so heavy that stocks are limited until the new editions appear. The Book Find Club, incidentally, plans to make *Under Cover* its September selection. Read it and see what worries Messrs. Gannett and Kamp. They've got a headache there.

Old Guard Tantrums

THE high command of the Republican Party must get fluttering of the heart every time the Gallup poll announces its political findings. The President's popularity remains undimmed: the Spanglerian alarums have not shaken the people's confidence in the policies of their Commander-in-Chief. According to Dr. Gallup's latest poll, if elections were held today the Presi-

(*Continued on page 7*)

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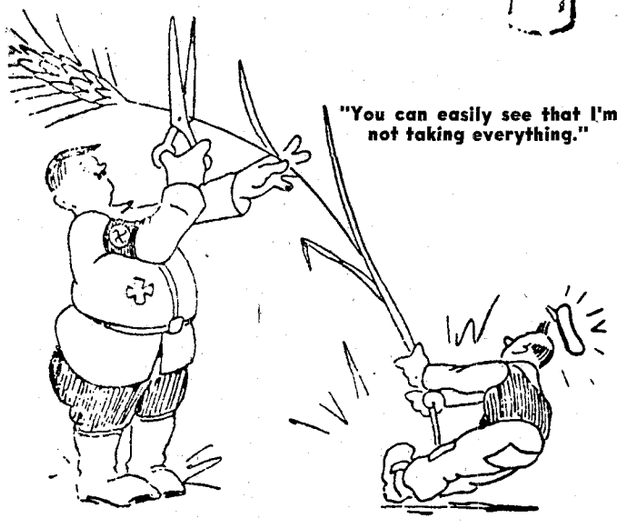
THE BELGIAN UNDERGROUND LAUGHS

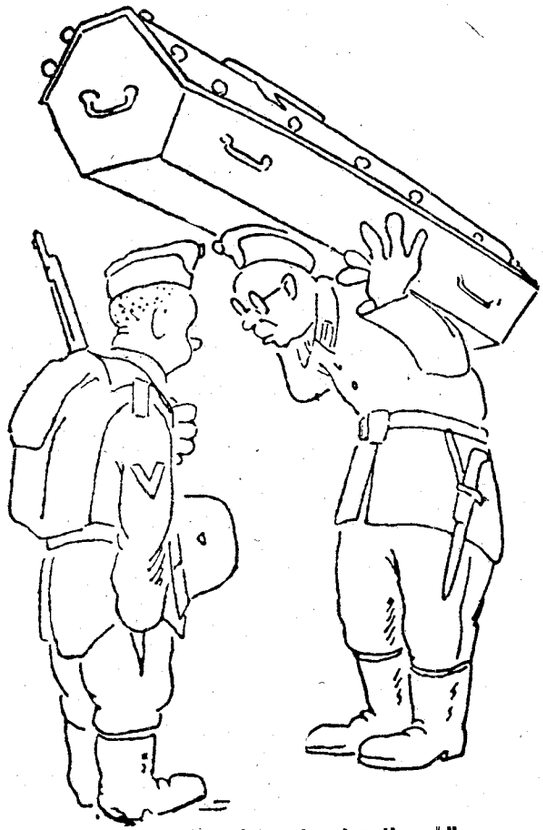
These five drawings and captions are from a booklet published by the Belgian Information Center, entitled "Belgian Humor Under the German Heel." It depicts a people's reaction to the 4,000 "Verboten" issued by the Nazi occupation—one of the first "Verboten" being against humor. But humor is a weapon, and the anti-fascist fighters of Belgium—like anti-fascist fighters everywhere—use every weapon they can in the fight. The brave men and women who drew and circulated these pictures have had to remain anonymous, but theirs is really the work of a whole people.

"Silence! A full belly has no ears. . . ."



"You can easily see that I'm not taking everything."

"Is it chocolate?"
"No, anthracite."



"Hurry up, they're not yet rationed."

Paper Shortage: "Hey, Psst . . . here are a few pacts and treaties."

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(*Continued from page 5*)

dent would come out on top handsomely: he would poll fifty-five percent to the GOP candidate's forty-five percent—about the same margin he had in the election of 1940.

THIS accounts for the desperate note that has crept into the declarations and strategies of the GOP Old Guard. The fact is that all the talk of administration "bureaucracy, inefficiency," and latterly, of "New Deal fascism," has fallen on deaf ears generally. The people of America have increasingly come to realize that "internationalism—a sensible cooperation with our allies in the postwar world—is the only guarantee that our children will not have to cope with another world conflagration. "Isolationism"—though not yet as dead as a dodo or as moribund as ex-President Hoover—has suffered grievously. This accounts for the ground gained by the Republican Postwar Policy Association, which reflects the Willkie line on the international scene. The New York *Herald Tribune* understands the trend in America and reflects it when it says "It is an uphill task which confronts the Republican Party, and that task is made doubly difficult by the heavy burden placed around its neck in the person of Mr. Spangler." And the latter evidently has no intention of loosening his strangle-hold.

Witness the recent scandalous performance of the Spanglerians: there is little to choose between the hysterical words of the GOP national chairman, his crony, former Governor Landon, and the fifth column outbursts of Colonel McCormick and Gerald L. K. Smith, that doughty exponent of Republicanism. Their common refrain is that the Commander-in-Chief is a dictator who got us into this war and who is interested only in perpetuating himself in office. It is the kind of editorialization Silver Charlie Coughlin would be giving us if *Social Justice* were not barred for abetting the Axis. It is the sort of thing Frank E. Gannett, former national Republican vice-chairman, is writing in his chain of publications.

LUDICROUS is not the word to describe Mr. Landon's recent speech: not unless you think Herr Doktor Goebbels is funny. The disappointed GOP candidate has suddenly revealed an affection for labor. He feels that New Deal bureaucracy threatens "the unionists' freedom." This is recognition that the President's strength lies in his coalition with the nation's organized workingmen. And the Old Guard GOP seeks to shatter that coalition as a prerequisite for victory in "44. Landon further tipped his mitt when he said that the Republicans and "the real Democrats are the only representatives of the great liberal principles of Jefferson as they are being given force and vitality under Republican leadership." With due apologies to Jefferson's ghost, it is evident that the GOP hopes for a coalition with the reactionary, poll-tax Democrats—under GOP leadership. Here again we find evidence of GOP frustration: recent sampling of public opinion in the South reveals continued unswerving support for the President.

Indeed, the time is more than ripe for win-the-war Republicans to repudiate the antedeluvian leadership of their party and to join with all Americans in unity behind the President's victory program. The impulsions of 1944 must not obscure us to the greatest imperative—the need to win this war, and win it irrevocably—no "negotiated peace" strings attached. Unwittingly or not, those strings you see dangling from the Spanglerian coat-tails stretch all the way to the Wilhelmstrasse.

Full Speed Ahead

AS WE go to press, disturbing reports arrive from Detroit that the Hearst press is carrying on a provocative campaign that may lead to a repetition of last month's tragic events. Obviously full speed is needed in dealing with the whole issue of Negro rights nationally. There is manifest a dangerous refusal to see the workings of the fifth column in Detroit and elsewhere. The menace will not be alleviated by Attorney General Biddle's reported recommendations that "the further migration of Negroes" to war centers be halted. If the reports are true, one may ask if the Attorney General's plan is to condemn Negroes to remain in "black ghettoes" indefinitely? Does he mean that whites may move into war production areas, but not Negroes? We shall return to this question next week.

Germans Who Fight Hitler

THE net of Nazi censorship is nowhere tighter than in Germany proper. News about the activities of underground fighters in the occupied countries is much easier to obtain than information about the underground battle in the "Altreich." The Nazi radio and press often report on fights against partisans or saboteurs in the occupied lands with the intention of deterring and frightening those who might have such plans within Germany. But the German press and radio never do so with respect to Germany proper and the incorporated regions—Austria, the Saar, Sudetengau, western Poland, southern Carinthia. Nevertheless, in the last few weeks, some news about the growing activities of the German underground has been revealed—inadvertently through Nazi sources. And here is one item showing what underground fighters are up to inside "Greater Germany." A few Nazi papers last April carried reports about a special court session of the first department of the Leipzig Volksgerichtshof ("Court of the People"—the special court dealing with treason and the like). The whole court had traveled from Leipzig to Klagenfurth, capital of Carinthia in Austria. On trial were "members of a guerrilla band and their helpers." Many of the guerrillas had Slovene names but there were defendants with German names too. Thirty-seven people from the villages of Zell Pfarre, Vellach and Eisenkappel were tried. What were they charged with? "Small groups of deserters from the German army, Communists, and other criminals, reinforced by bands of robbers (read guerrillas) terrorized the region. They attacked farms, they killed Germans who were loyal to the Reich, and they disturbed order and peace."

Twelve of the defendants—eleven men and one woman—were sentenced to death. The others got prison terms up to twenty-five years. Among those executed were lumberjacks, farmers, and a worker from the rifle factory of Ferlach where only Nazi party members were permitted to work. He was charged with having furnished weapons to partisan bands.

The president of the court, a Nazi by the name of Freissler, emphasized the "rottenness of the defendants" who "forgot their German honor and collaborated with Yugoslav robbers and bandits." This collaboration was carried on across the high Karawanken Mountains—a fact which may prove very useful in the event of an Allied invasion from the Italian and/or Balkan shores. Here is proof of an active underground able to carry on warfare against Nazi troops even in a region totally inhabited by Germans.

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WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

THAT SHIPPING "SURPLUS"

Washington.

CERTAIN commercial interests have recently turned highly optimistic in their appraisal of the war. So optimistic, in fact, that they picture hostilities as all over but the shouting, and grandly conclude that now is the time to resume normal business procedures. Two weeks ago in this column I discussed the agitation by special groups, helped along considerably by a false and misleading article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, to reconvert industry to the production of civilian goods on the assumption that the United Nations are oversupplied with tanks, guns, shells, and planes. Such dangerously erroneous propaganda has made sufficient inroads to cause Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces, and Charles E. Wilson, vice-chairman of the War Production Board, to tour the country in an effort to spike these rumors. Both men warn in the sharpest terms that failure to fulfill and improve production schedules will prolong the war, needlessly cost the lives of young Americans in uniform, and seriously impair the nation's economy. Recently the rumor has taken a new form—a barrage has been let loose to the effect that the United States now possesses a surplus of ships, and that now is the time to resume ordinary commercial traffic.

This campaign of falsehood is spread by two sources: a group of ship-owners eager for super-profits have convinced themselves that the war can get along without them and their ships; more subtle, and far more menacing, the America First and defeatist crowd see a chance to exploit the good news from the battlefronts to delay the war in the hope of calling the whole thing off before the enemy is smashed. With the help of a section of the press, malicious gossip is spread of ships leaving American ports empty, of vessels lying idle, of the inability of production lines working at capacity to supply sufficient materiel to fill the shipping space at the Army's disposal.

I asked the War Department's Transportation Corps and the War Shipping Administration for their appraisal of this so-called "surplus of shipping." Both gave identical answers—the rumors are utterly false. If such mistaken ideas gain credence they can harm the war effort. Rather than too much shipping, there still exists a serious shortage. It is true that great advances have been made in shipbuilding and in the war against the submarine. Losses at sea have dropped, which means that more supplies get through to their destination, and transportation difficulties are eased. But this also allows the armed forces to increase and intensify their blows against the enemy. There can never be too much armaments, too many planes, too great striking power until the enemy is demolished once and for all. Every additional weapon brought into action reduces the cost of victory in blood and lives.

MORE than that, Army spokesmen pointed out that success on the battlefield does not diminish the strain on shipping. Indeed, the reverse is true. Each acre of territory recovered by the United Nations puts an additional strain on shipping facilities—men and material must be replaced, civilian populations must be fed, medical aid and sanitation must be provided, communications must be rebuilt, minimum aid must be offered stricken communities. In addition the Army does not view the war as in the bag. "The greatest efforts lie ahead," a colonel remarked. "We have the task of invading Europe, as the President has stressed. Think of the manpower such an operation requires, and think of the equipment, the food, the medical supplies, the technical materials required by a huge invading force. The job is not only to transport men and arms to the landing point. That is only the beginning. Every day, every hour, supplies must pour in to keep these men going. Think of the task ahead of preventing famine as our armies occupy a Europe looted and gutted by the Axis war machine. Think of what the collapse of Italy alone can mean in terms of transportation. To talk of a 'surplus of ships' is nothing short of insane. Not only haven't we enough ships, but even the end of the war will not end our transportation problems."

He continued: "Yes, ships sometimes are seen in harbor, and rumor mongers immediately spread the lie that these vessels are lying idle. In all probability, they are awaiting a convoy. Yes, ships have at times in the past left American harbors incompletely loaded, though such instances are very rare. Even so, it is better to get what supplies are available across the ocean than to hold ships for a later convoy because there has been some hitch in the delivery of materiel to the dock. Any idea of resumption of commercial shipping is downright impossible. Besides, the subs may be less effective these days, but if they manage to hit a big convoy, then any imaginary 'surplus' just won't exist any longer."

The Army emphasizes the need for more ships. It turns thumbs down on any suggestion of resumption of coastwise traffic or ordinary trade practices. But a section of the press goes on spreading the impression that a surplus exists. Lewis W. Douglas, deputy war shipping administrator, told his staff and the public early last month: "We cannot afford to stop swimming just because we are at last able to hold our heads above water. . . . I cannot emphasize too strongly the accepted fact that there never will be enough ships to meet all requirements in this unlimited and unpredictable war, and we cannot afford the slightest relaxation of the program, in any of its phases."

The agitation over shipping is calculated not so much to win ships away from the Army—though there is always the outside hope of accomplishing this—but to strengthen the impression that the war is over and to push the program of immediate reconversion of industry to civilian production. Even if the campaign to chisel in on the shipping pool comes to nothing, the over-all agitation to win other production concessions, as proposed by the *Saturday Evening Post*, is enhanced. Moreover, certain dollar-a-year men in the Office of Economic Warfare have been inclined, for reasons of "diplomacy," to issue licenses for trade abroad that wasted shipping space on cargoes not crucial to the war effort. Drew Pearson recently pointed out that shipments of gold-mining machinery have been permitted to South Africa and to South America. The War Shipping Administration stoutly denies that this ever occurred, but the denials were less than convincing. Even more, the question arises: Could not ships now used to transport increased supplies of coffee, bananas, sugar, and similar items be better employed in hauling materials of greater strategic value to the war effort? Every ship not engaged in supplying the armed forces, or helping to increase their striking power, slows up the offensive just so much.

THE agitation for resumption of commercial shipping points up one serious weakness of the War Shipping Administration. Failure to organize management-labor committees, aside from all other implications, offers a loophole to management

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groups anxious to exert one-sided pressure on the WSA. Admiral Land, in his pose as an old sea dog, has indulged his medieval attitudes toward labor by refusing to discuss labor participation on policy bodies, or to allow the unions to help make the most effective use of shipping. He has turned a deaf ear to the CIO maritime unions' proposals for a planned approach to shipping problems. Certainly, no group in American life has more thoroughly and more effectively plunged into the war effort than the National Maritime Union in the East, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the West. Admiral Land, however, still pushes labor to one side, a serious mistake which is costly to the nation. He does not thereby strengthen the defenses against the appeasement, business-as-usual campaign for reconversion. It is not enough for Admiral Land to snort that he will take care of things for himself. If this reconversion clamor could be laughed off so easily, there would be no need for General Somervell and Charles E. Wilson touring the country to combat it. Admiral Land's contempt for union cooperation results in the paradox of trying to fight a total war with less than total mobilization. The net effect is to encourage those who now talk of too much shipping, and who want to call off the war before victory is achieved.

THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

CHANGING THE TIME TABLE

London (by wireless).

HOPE and belief is general here that a far-reaching decision is now in the making to speed up the timetable for a final knockout of Germany. The nation is in a mood of supreme—sometimes exaggerated—confidence. Analyzing this mood, which arises from the Russian victories, Mussolini's downfall, and the advance in Sicily, you get two distinct and pretty clearly marked psychological results. Both are important.

First is the realization that one, perhaps, *the* greatest turning point of the war is here. Consequently comes a new realization that victory over Germany is actually possible this year if the old schedules are brought up to date in view of developments which couldn't have been foreseen at Casablanca or after the fall of Tunis.

The other reaction is an assumption that the war is virtually won. There is almost a holiday mood—a mood which is underlined by the fact that this is really the traditional holiday period in Britain, particularly in the North, where whole towns are virtually "evacuated" for a fortnight or so. It's against this background and these reactions, with all shades in between that, for example, uneasiness here regarding the possibilities of some kind of "deal" with undesirable elements in Italy has to be seen. Exaggerated attention to fears and rumors of a new Darlanism are in part products of easy over-confidence regarding the military situation. And of course the fact that Darlanism, which was represented as a military expediency, was in fact more political than military and was neither politically nor militarily expedient, gives real ground for vigilance.

If there was considerable parliamentary support for the critics of the Anglo-American policy toward Badoglio, it was principally on account of the record of Anglo-American policy in North Africa, though there were, of course, those who were merely anxious to make mischief. What didn't come out in Parliament the other day was the feeling of the majority of thinking British people that the real question isn't one of profound inquiry into the moral and political character of this or that personality, but simply how best can Italy be not only knocked out of the war, but organized with small resources into the war on the Allied side. Real, monstrous Darlanism could ensue if political considerations—whether regarding royalty or big business—were to interfere with, or delay the acceptance by, the Western Allies of the fullest cooperation with elements in Italy capable of taking control—capable also of stirring up the predominant war weariness in the country into positive anti-Nazi action. That's what is needed.

This was, after all, the real failure in North Africa. It is understandable that people who had nothing to do with hair-splitting squabbles regarding policy in Italy should be at least exceedingly vigilant in this matter. It is particularly important, since it seems likely that the Anglo-American governments underestimated the strength and potential authority of broad councils of action formed in North Italy before Mussolini's fall. This coalition, embracing Catholics, Communists,, liberals, and even oppositional fascists, has as a present objective the establishment of a constituent assembly, qualified to set up a provisional government.

It must be emphasized that a damaging uneasiness, even a certain cynicism, regarding the Italian policy of Anglo-Americans is very much increased by the seemingly endless delay of the recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation as a provisional French government.

I myself have seen extraordinary development in the French Committee and an extraordinary capacity of the Committee to move forward toward real unity, always under the supreme authority of united committee resistance, working and fighting illegally in Paris. It would be disastrous if mysterious personal squabbles conducted against, for instance, General de Gaulle, in certain Anglo-American quarters, and trivial personal antipathies of some Allied leaders toward de Gaulle, should produce further paralysis in the organization of French resources under the leadership of the French National Committee. It is, by all reasonable standards, really in touch with the French people, and is at least as much a provisional government as any other recognized Allied but exiled government. The French committee is after all the only one of these Allied authorities which is operating on its own territory once more.

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AROUND THE WORLD

IT MUST BE DONE

LAST January, at Casablanca, we and the British adopted a military policy based on the assumption that Europe would have to be wrested from Hitler mile by mile. History, however, has outdistanced our plans. Instead of slowly and bit by bit, the disintegration of the Axis is proceeding at a pace far more rapid than anyone could have imagined at the beginning of the year. It is imperative then that military computations be revised to conform with the new opportunities for victory in Europe by Christmas.

As is evident from the confusion of many commentators, some of whom reflect official opinion, it would not be far from accurate to say that key circles in Washington and London did not anticipate the earth-shaking events of the past two and a half weeks. At best the trend of opinion was that Mussolini might be forced out by Fall and that the key Nazi positions at Orel would be liquidated during the winter. This latter was based on the supposition that the Red Army did its offensive fighting at temperatures below zero. But now Mussolini is gone, Catania, Orel, and Belgorod fell in one day, and Soviet armed might is sweeping the Eastern Front in the middle of summer.

Every day the signs multiply that Hitlerite Germany's final hour is beginning to toll, and that this tolling tells us to hurry with a Western Front. The demand of the Italian people for peace continues to grow notwithstanding the repressive measures of Badoglio's police. Last week the Pope sent a little-noticed letter to Luigi Cardinal Maglione, Vatican delegate to Italy, telling Italians to pray for peace. This is the first time, so far as I know, that such a missive has been addressed to one country alone. Moreover, the opportunists who govern Sweden have revoked permission to Germany to transport troops and war material over Swedish railroads. In Sofia, the Prime Minister who helped drag Bulgaria into the war, Bogdan Filov, is about to be ousted by jittery King Boris. In fear of a mutiny, Hungary has disarmed the remnants of her Second Army which the Soviets crushed before Voronezh last winter. Budapest has also sent Premier Kallay's son to Ankara to see what kind of peace might be extracted from the Allies. The Balkans therefore are shot through with uneasiness. And finally the underground armies of Europe are rising in new strength. All military policy must, therefore, be reformulated in the light of events in Europe and on the basis of giving Hitler no time to "dig in" around the heart of Europe.

NOW, then, is the time for Washington and London to press boldly forward. Now, then, is the time to discard the outdated military time tables established at Casablanca. We were even late with our invasion of Sicily. According to Maj.-Gen. W. D. Styer, chief of staff of the Army Service Forces, Gen. Eisenhower had everything he needed for the attack on Sicily a full month before the great Allied invasion fleet set sail across the narrows of the Mediterranean. And, it seems to me, we delayed again when Badoglio took over from Mussolini. We should never have ceased bombing the peninsula and it is heartening to read again that RAF planes have been working out over Turin, Milan, and Genoa. That should teach Badoglio that we mean business.

The probability that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are soon to meet indicates that even at this late hour the decision to open a second front in the immediate future has not yet been taken. Our delay is due to three fundamental mistakes which still underlie the mile by mile policy of key military figures. First, British and American military authorities overestimate German strength; second, they are still underestimating Soviet strength; and third, they fail to have a complete grasp of the nature of the war.

The Casablanca program was based on the belief, as shown by Churchill's speeches last Spring, that it would take until the end of this year to reduce shipping losses to the point where an invasion of Western Europe was possible. Our naval men apparently overestimated the number and effectiveness of the Nazi U-boat fleet. The intensified anti-submarine campaign launched by Britain and ourselves this Spring has already resulted in reducing losses to the point where they are far from critical.

Too many army people have also credited, and still credit, the Germans with a strength which at this stage, after more than two years of fighting on the Eastern Front, they do not have. The Germans are in many respects still strong but the picture as a whole is one of rapidly declining strength, of divisions that have lost their best troops. One reason for this overestimation of the Wehrmacht lies in the underestimation of the Red Army. Everyone knows how this reflected itself two years ago when some people in the War Department said that the Nazis would reach Moscow in six weeks. More recently it has shown itself in the form of a refusal to take seriously Soviet statements of casualties inflicted on the Germans. And most recently it reflected itself in the widespread talk (a view shared by German propagandists) that the Red Army was incapable of carrying out a summer offensive. When will we accept Soviet analyses of the crisis in the German army instead of greeting them with snickers and cynicism such as are to be heard in some Washington offices?

We must begin to understand and take with the greatest seriousness the deterioration of the Wehrmacht; that the Wehrmacht of today is far from what it was last year and does not even begin to resemble what it was in 1941. We must begin to understand and take with equal seriousness our own power which when linked to that of the Russians in joint action is invincible. These are not assumptions; these are facts. And we must act upon them without delay.

AND finally we must begin properly to evaluate and use the underground forces of Europe—a force that has been all too strange to many military planners. These invisible armies have been helped somewhat by British equipment. And that has been good. What we must now take into our calculations, particularly in connection with France, is that when we invade from the west thousands of men will come out of hiding and join our ranks. Some of them will have arms, most of them won't. But the point is that we will gain many divisions of fighters, and add a large measure of strength to the formidable strength we already have.

We can do it and it must be done. A blow from the West is imperative. It is not being foolishly optimistic to say that victory looms before us. Any objective study of the facts leads to that conclusion. But victory only looms before us. Hard, determined, relentless fighting—supported by unity and full scale production at home —can put victory in our laps by Christmas. Let us overhaul the decisions of the past eight months and make the remaining four the final ones so far as Europe is concerned.

JOSEPH REED.

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WHAT WILL WE DO WITH GERMANY?

Michel Anders, anti-fascist German, examines the dangerous ideas of Emil Ludwig and Professor Forster. The men and forces that created Hitler. First of two articles.

War aims are the basis of the psychological conduct of war, of war propaganda. They state the purpose of the war and can influence decisively its entire course. The Allies' plans as to the reconstruction of a conquered Germany form the content of the war aims to be pursued toward Germany. According to their content they can hasten or retard victory over the Axis, prolong or shorten the war, diminish or increase casualties, make postwar Germany a peaceful nation in the community of nations or a smouldering volcano of revenge.

We must consider Allied plans for the postwar reconstruction of Germany from the point of view of their immediate effect on the war's course. If they do not contribute decisively to hastening Hitler's defeat they are valueless as a basis for lasting peace.

In this connection, the following comes forcibly to mind. The year Hitler came to power, a Reichswehr colonel wrote about the effect of the Allies' war aims in hastening the German defeat in 1918: "Contrary to what was happening among the Allied nations, each one of which derived ever new incentives to prosecute the war from the possession of clear political war aims, Germany experienced a great spiritual vacuum after the excitement of the first few months died down. . . . This peculiar mental state gave rise to the question 'What is the war for?' and played a large part in people's thinking. The immediate incentive for posing this question was the uneasiness as to the favorable outcome of the war and also as to the complete justification of the German cause. . . . People wanted to know ever more insistently what, finally, they were fighting for, and to what end the colossal sacrifice had to be made. The government . . . vouchsafed only the negative formula of survival. . . . It was no wonder, then, that the soldiers at the front, affected most by the misery of war, were the first to have clear ideas about the uselessness of continuing the conflict. Just how did that happen? The overwhelming majority saw clearly that if peace could be had on bearable terms no one would have any desire to bear the frightful sufferings of war for boundless conquests or dynastic interests."

On the eve of World War II a military instructor in the Third Reich, who had been a colonel in the kaiser's army, brought up the same basic idea: "What won the World War? The superior power and the war propaganda of our opponents. The magic of Wilson's promises which dazzled the demoralized and desperate German people of all classes. Finally, in the controversy over ending the war, those who stuck by the kaiser's ideas lost out to those who espoused the ideas of the democratic, idealistic Wilson."

Several lessons emerge from these quotations. The war program of the Allies, embraced in Wilson's fourteen points, was fully justified in its *immediate* usefulness to military needs. It helped hasten the defeat of Wilhelminian Germany. The program contained points only of general orientation: evacuation of occupied territory, self-determination of nations, nonintervention in Russian domestic affairs, democracy, disarmament, freedom of the seas, reparations, creation of a League of Nations, etc.

What "dazzled" the German people was the promise of democracy. Here the objectives of decades of bitter internal struggle coincided with one of the supposed war aims of the Allies. Wilson made the agreement to begin peace negotiations conditional: the German people and their parliamentary representatives would have to remove the monarchy, and alter the state system. (Wilson's note of Oct. 23, 1918)

The immediate purpose of Wilson's war aims program, guarantee of a lasting peace, was not achieved. That was not alone because the victor states at Versailles interpreted Wilson's Fourteen Points to suit themselves. The last war was an imperialist war which led to an imperialist peace. The representatives of the victors and of defeated German imperialism, for all their disagreement on all other points, agreed on one point: the natural domestic development of Germany toward socialism must be held back at all cost. Thus, despite the sternness of the peace dictate, the means for the regeneration of German imperialism remained essentially unmolested. Its basic economic structure remained untouched. For the defense of this basic structure sufficient military power was left in the hands of German imperialists. That was demanded and provided under the formula on which victor and vanquished agreed: "Defense against Bolshevism." This could provide only a temporary peace. Historic necessities, however, cannot be long ignored. And it seems as though the irony of history had brought it about as a lesson for the present generation—that from the collaboration of victor and vanquished for "defense against Bolshevism," the vanquished of World War I emerged as the kindlers of World War II and Bolshevism became the savior of democracy.

So the question "What is to become of Germany?" confronts us, in the last analysis, as an economic problem. In what way that problem will be solved depends on whether we shall have, after Hitler's defeat, the guarantee of a lasting peace from the German sector of the world community. The fundamental condition for that is the complete eradication of those economic factors and those social forces in Germany whose efforts at imperialist expansion made Germany the center of the will to war and the cause of war.

The radical destruction of these forces lies objectively in the will of the Allied peoples and the peoples of the Axis powers. It depends on what role and what decisive power is given to the peoples of the Axis in the attainment and safeguarding of universal peace; it depends on whether the war aims program of the Allies has the effect of crippling the Axis powers, splitting them one from the other as well as splitting them internally, thereby forever eliminating the elements that lust for expansion, and preventing the solidification of antagonistic groups in the enemy's camp.

It is in order, then, at this point, to sketch in a few strokes the position of German imperialism. The Third Reich is—territorially, politically, economically, and militarily—dominant in Europe. The catch phrase *Festung Europa* is not primarily a military expression. This well calculated phrase of Nazi propaganda is meant rather to cover the economic character of a closed, complex European economy under the sovereignty of German imperialism. It is meant to suggest to the German people a consciousness of their own power and also a feeling that they have in the European economic space an old possession of their own to defend. The catch phrase is supposed to suggest to the peoples of Europe a feeling of a community of interest—to create among them a sort of European nationalism—and the feeling that they must recognize this unity under German direction.

The success of this propaganda is one thing and the factors which comprise the economic fundamentals of German impe-

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rialism's position are another. Neither among the German people nor among the peoples of Europe has this propaganda taken hold. This can be quite simply deduced from the fact that the participants in the growing European underground movement are recruited chiefly from workers, peasants, members of the middle classes, intellectuals, officers, and the clergy. In other words, from strata whose social, national, or religious interests are severely damaged, whom the swastika has condemned to a kind of miserable vegetation.

On the other hand those strata which occupy the key positions of European economy—in coal, iron, oil, chemicals, electric power, machine tools, shipping, transportation, banking—have subordinated national interests to their special material interests and reactionary prejudices; have placed their special material interests under the protection of the Nazi usurpers. These strata are at the same time closely affiliated with the real masters of Germany—the new and old trust and finance magnates.

And that brings us again to the central problem. Anyone who carefully investigates the causes for the amazing success of the Nazi blitzkrieg strategy in the first years of this war will uncover the tracks of the "economic war" which had been going on for a long time before 1939. Whether we investigate the formation of the Berlin-Rome Axis, or the phony war of 1939-40 in France, or the conquest of European states, or the alliance of the Nazi satellite states in the Balkans, or the economic relationship of the Third Reich with neutral Sweden and Switzerland—we constantly run into the interpenetration of the important concerns and banking houses of these countries by German trusts and monopoly capital. This penetration and interpenetration was, of course, consummated long ago.

The picture would become clearest if we took an economic map of Europe on which were represented: (a) the key positions of domestic German economy and who controls them; (b) the key positions of European economy and what groups of interests are affiliated with German commercial magnates; (c) what threads spun by Germany's economic masters lead from European economic territory to the lands outside Europe and are there tied up with "neutral" firms or in international cartels. Such a map would furnish the key to the many contradictions of war policy and peace planning.

Because of limited space I will merely fix a few chief points and lines on this imaginary economic map. (1) There is the *Reichs Stahl Union* in which the entire German iron and steel producing industry is enclosed. Almost the entire iron and steel producing industry of Europe is somehow tied up with this mammoth enterprise; (2) the *Goering-Konzern,* today Europe's most powerful trust, with which, among others, the powerful munitions plant *Rheinmetall* and the Skoda works are closely affiliated; (3) the *I. G. Farben,* the world's greatest chemical trust; (4) *Siemens und A. E. G.,* the two trusts of the electric industry; (5) the *Deutsche Erdolgesellschaft,* etc. Coal, machine tools, explosives, transportation, agriculture are either allied to the most powerful German trusts or are controlled by them. Everything is woven together by the threads of finance capital. Under the direction of the Reichsbank the six biggest German banks control the entire banking business of continental Europe either directly or indirectly.

This and much, much more would have to be shown in all its ramifications to give an idea of how European economy is held together by German trust and finance magnates. And this should make it clear that the military defeat of the Third Reich, if nothing more is done, does not mean the extinction of German imperialism.

Nor would the change to democracy by itself destroy the heart of German imperialism. We should have learned that from 1918. In place of kaiserdom came the Weimar Republic. In it the privileges of big capital were sacrosanct. The key economic positions of German imperialism could not be touched. Wherever Germans tried to do so they were shot down in bloody battles by the Social Democrats who ran the Republic and by the monarchist generals who were allied with them.

After examining German economy and economic geography we must at this point begin to consider the proposals that have been made about postwar German territory. In 1918 border provinces were detached from Germany and partitioned to adjacent states. German imperialism brought back the detached areas and grabbed for itself in addition the states to which they had been attached. This time even more radical procedures have been suggested for postwar Germany. Perhaps Germany will be completely decentralized, according to Professor Forster's formula, or there is Emil Ludwig's proposal: "Instead of cutting Germany into many small pieces, she might, however, be divided into two single republics —Old Prussia with twenty-five million inhabitants, and a German Confederation of fifty millions, including Cologne, Frankfort, Munich, and Vienna. This would subdue the preponderance of Prussia and hush the arrogance of Berlin. Both republics should be constantly connected by economy, only their political government should be divided."

"Old Prussia" is an outworn concept. As is well known the Rhine provinces also belonged to "Old Prussia." They were the industrial core from which Prussia's dominance in the Reich developed. But the Forsters and the Ludwigs want it understood that they mean chiefly the domains of junkerdom, the agrarian East Prussia. As a matter of fact, from just there, long after the unification of the Reich, came the most stubborn obstruction to Prussian-German imperialist policy. The East Elbean junker and first chancellor of the Reich, Bismarck, was deposed from his position because he was against the "new era" of German imperialism. Emil Ludwig, as biographer of Bismarck, ought to know, and so should Forster, the former professor of German history.

The wire-pullers of German imperialism, after the defeat of the Third Reich, would completely agree to the separation of "Old Prussia" from the Reich, the annexation in its place of Austria and the maintenance of economic connections between the two republics. Even without "Old Prussia" an economic territory would be held together which is the actual power center of German imperialism. It could be directed from Vienna or Munich just as well as from Berlin. Incidentally, the planner of the Nazi policy of conquest was not a Prussian but a Bavarian—retired Major General Haushofer, professor at the University of Munich. Certainly the Prussian grandees play a traditionally important role to this day in the army, diplomacy, and the higher administration of Germany. However, that is not the central problem. No drawing of geographic border lines will loosen the ties of this social class with big industry, high finance, and the state.

It is interesting to note that the German imperialist "reservation" established along the lines suggested by Emil Ludwig —a reservation marked by the Rhine-Danube line and the triangle Cologne-Munich-Vienna—coincides very much with the wishes of the Vatican. The former and the Hapsburgs would have to share in the rule of this "German Confederation." With the conception of separating "Old Prussia" from the Reich the claims of a greater Poland would be satisfied. This arrangement would also bring the Polish high aristocracy somewhat closer to the Vatican. And in addition the *cordon sanitaire* planned by some reactionary circles against the Soviet Union would be enlarged. All this is on the old formula of the "fight against Bolshevism." This is not the way to guarantee a lasting peace.

With the factors I have outlined above I believe that we have found the basis for a positive judgment of the plans and proposals of the Allies for a postwar Germany. These I will discuss in an article in the next issue of New Masses.

Michel Anders.

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CAN IT HAPPEN IN HARLEM AGAIN?

The Rev. Ben Richardson, of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, examines the true basis for the recent disturbances. The most crowded areas in the world. Rents, prices, jobs. What shall be done?

Needed: A Program

WE PUBLISH *below a timely and thoughtful article on the recent outbreaks in Harlem. The author, the Rev. Ben Richardson of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, bespeaks the mind of Harlem's 300,000 Americans when he urges all responsible citizens to probe beneath the surface to discover the reasons for the disturbance. To remove the dynamite that lies below the structure of Negro-white relations in this country, we must get at the underlying causes of the outbreaks. As we pointed out last week, the Rev. Richardson declares that what happened in Harlem was not what happened in Detroit. White and Negro did not battle each other. The events in Harlem were provoked by an unholy battalion, officered by Jim Crow, which still marched in the world's greatest Negro city. In its ranks are skyrocketing prices, discrimination against Negroes in industry, inadequate educational facilities for Harlem's children, and the ever-present bitterness at the treatment Harlem's soldier boys get in the armed forces. This latter was the immediate cause of the flare-up. Consider the resentment Negro parents must feel. They know, as "Life" magazine points out in its August 9 issue, that Negroes are among our finest troops. "When German prisoners recently were sent to a United States prison camp," the "Life" article declares, "they said that the best fighters they encountered in North Africa were Australian troops and American Negro troops." And yet, Negro soldiers are offered every type of indignity and insult the Kluxer mentality is capable of. Ask yourself what you would do if the shoe were on your foot. Answer honestly and you will understand the frame of mind that existed in Harlem when word flew that a Negro soldier was shot in the back.*

Well, order and calm have been restored in Harlem. Credit for that has justly been given to Mayor LaGuardia's wise policies, and the behavior of the police. We would, however, be remiss in judging the situation, if we were to omit the splendid assistance given by the people of Harlem themselves. They responded immediately to the mayor's action in drawing into unified leadership outstanding Negro citizens, men like Dr. Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, Walter White, head of the National Associaton for the Advancement of Colored People, and others. It is important to note, too, the creation of the Emergency Citizens' Committee representing every creed, color, and political affiliation including the Communists. All this tends toward the imperative unity of Negro and white against further provocations, enemy-inspired rumors, against the continuance of inequalities, and it heads in the direction of measures that will ensure victory over fascism. It is interracialism in practice.

Attention now is directed toward a positive program. Ben Davis, Jr., Communist leader in Harlem, put it well when he said: "What is needed is a program, a people's program, worked out by all Negro, labor, church, civic, and patriotic organizations on a citywide scale." Such a program should endorse the policies adopted by Mayor LaGuardia in the situation. It must urge the continuation of the progressive policies of the police department and insist, Mr. Davis says, that there be no "police reprisals, wholesale arrests, or court severities for an outbreak basically social and economic." In order is a thorough examination of all living conditions in Harlem immediately. Ceilings must be placed at once upon rent and food prices; severe action must be taken by OPA against price control violators; Negroes must be guaranteed the right to live where they please in the city, including the Metropolitan Housing Project. Equal opportunities for Negro youth must be afforded and Jim Crow must be abolished from the city.

If such a program is adopted and set into motion, it will prevent the recurrence of the tragedy; it will remove the basis for further plotting by fifth column elements. It will go a long way in rectifying injustice; it will provide inspiration for other communities nationally to do likewise; and it will be an earmark of our sincerity to the billion colored men and women in Asia and elsewhere who watch these events with dismay.

Furthermore, such a program will afford the President that support he needs to blast away the criminal anachronism in Negro relations fomented by the poll-tax legislators in Washington. And finally, but not least, it will prove to our glorious Negro troops—and to their white buddies—that we mean it to the hilt when we say this is a war for liberation. For liberty, like charity, begins at home.

THE EDITORS.

WHAT happened in Harlem was not a race riot. No anti-Semitic or anti-white slogans appeared splotched on crude posters. No one heard outcries of racial hatred. This is an important fact. All of the outbreaks in America since December 7 were "race riots." Negroes and whites have been pitted against each other through the activities of local home-bred fascists.

But here in Harlem a white man was as safe in the street as was a Negro that Sunday night. Some white people were given the personal protection of their Negro friends when rash members of the crowd made their safety doubtful. Property was the target of the angry looters—people were not threatened or molested.

The officers injured encountered the raiders and were casualties to their intent to discontinue the crusade of destruction.

The action of the police in exercising restraint was a brilliant display of common sense. It took the heart out of the disturbance in time, so great was the respect of the people for their wise conduct. The added police were not hated by the people of Harlem.

WHAT was behind the riot? What made it possible? Are the same provocations still present to cause another outburst? To answer these questions we must

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see Harlem as it is and has been for years. Let's look at Harlem.

It is a community that lies between 99th Street on the south and 155th Street on the north. It is bounded on the east by the East and the Harlem Rivers and on the west by the Hudson River. Into this area are crammed 478,346 people. This population is made up of over 60,000 family groups.

Harlem is one of the most densely populated areas in New York City, with over 600 persons per acre in some sections. The city block from West 140th Street to West 141st Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues is reputed to be *the most crowded dwelling area in the world.*

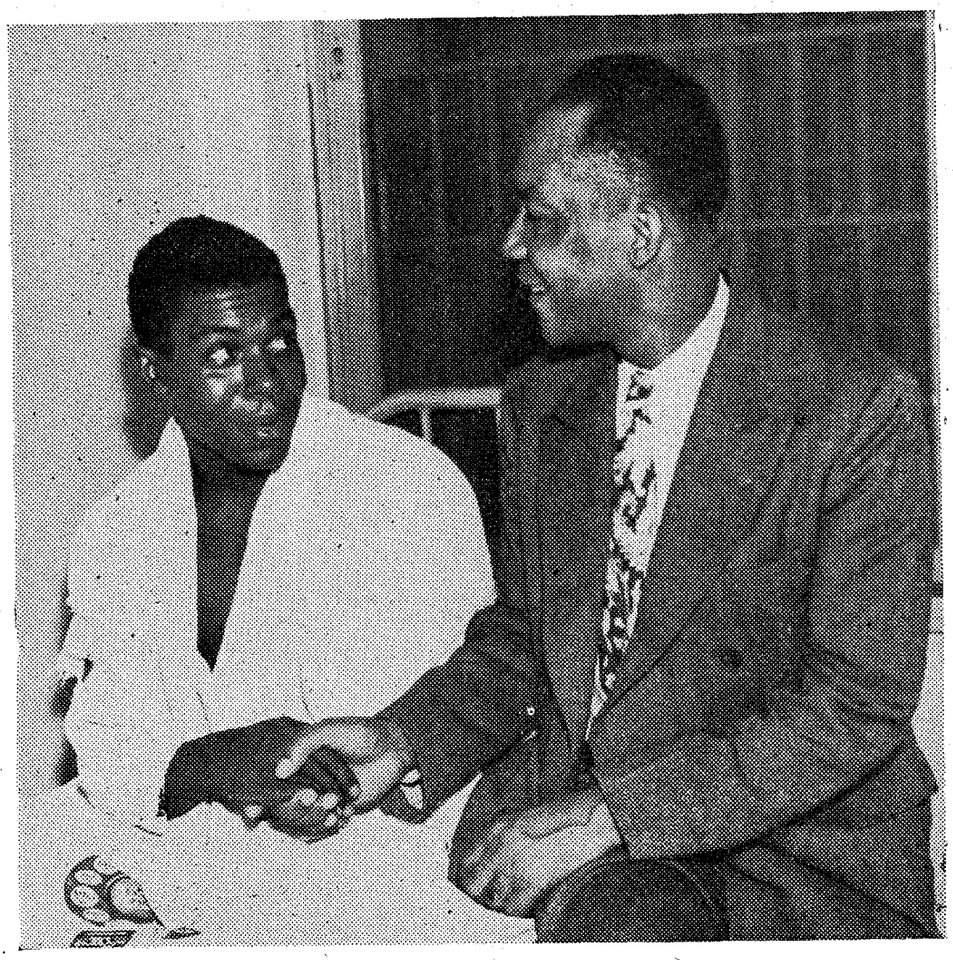
The houses occupied by Negroes range from almost uninhabitable tenements to the more liveable quarters in Washington Heights recently left vacant by whites in their exodus from the onrush of Negroes—thought by many of them to be undesirable as neighbors; 84.2 percent of the dwelling places in Harlem are over thirty-five years old. In these houses live fifty percent of Harlem's Negroes.

For these houses Negroes pay from twenty to thirty percent more than white people pay for similar accomodations elsewhere in the city. And, too, these rents are much higher than those the white tenants paid when they occupied them.

In the block of 137th to 138th Streets between Lenox and Seventh Avenues sixty percent of the people pay fifty percent of their total income for rent. At a time when the average monthly income of a person in this block was $88.27 he paid $37 for rent.

Rent gouging by both Negro and white agents and landlords has created genuine ill feeling among tenants. In order to get higher commissions, agents go the limit in charging rents. The acute shortage of desirable places to live forces the prospective tenant to accept the unfair terms. Services are denied tenants and general poor management is the rule. Safety precaution and health measures are neglected by owners and agents. The welfare of children living in these houses is no consideration at all! The landlords are overbearing and autocratic; they dispossess the protesting people on a moment's notice.

Some people left such houses to join in the riot—for a chance to get even with the system that compelled them to live like "rats in dark, dank, holes." Others looked down from such "shanty boxes" and cheered. They saw this as a chance to even a score with a system that condoned vulture landlords, white and colored. No one said this, but all felt it and so they thundered on, destroying and looting!



Ferdinand Smith (right), secretary of the National Maritime Union and columnist for the Negro paper the "People's Voice," interviews Private Robert Bandy, who was wounded in the incident which touched off the Harlem disturbances. Private Bandy's message to his people, as given through this exclusive interview in the "People's Voice," was that they should "stop rioting."

THEN there's the question of jobs. Negroes in Harlem were menially employed for the most part before defense industries absorbed them in great numbers. Women did domestic work in the neighboring Bronx or in other parts of the city. The men of Harlem did porter work or other such jobs all over the city. Professional people make up a small part of the total population. Until recently Negroes suffered discrimination of the worst sort in employment *right in their own community*. Utility corporations here doggedly refused to hire them. Local merchants on 125th Street would only hire Negroes as porters! Even today the wage differentials are unfair. The people here know this. Harlem Negroes working in other parts of the city are miserably underpaid and over-worked; when they return to Harlem the same obtains for their brothers in white employ here.

Though defense jobs are available, rank discrimination is the order of the day. Many plants are slow to upgrade Negroes; many unions refuse to admit them, thus limiting the worker to unskilled employment and the consequent lower wage.

Negroes know that a war is being fought for democracy; they resent their "short deal" in production for victory.

THEN there's the question of our young. There are so few places for them to enjoy supervised play. They are forced into the streets and are exposed to all the obvious ills. Parks, minus formal play setups, are useless; playgrounds without trained persons to help children have a constructive good time are also of minimum use. The program of recreation in Harlem is inadequate.

Schools are closed after regular hours and the pupils have no place to go in search of real recreational outlets. The Boys' Club, the YMCA, and the YWCA do not meet the needs of the great masses of youngsters who have no money for fees! The results of such lacks are tragically apparent. The little folk go to corner pool rooms—dives, dens and where they will. These young people, children of socially unwanted parents, themselves discriminated against and ill-trained, were out Sunday night too! They broke windows, looted, and in some instances even set fire to places they had learned to distrust and hate because the people who ran them were agents of a system that hurt them and their parents. Space does not permit a discussion of schools, but

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segregation is rife in Harlem's schools and children and parents resent this.

Finally, and not the least, was the issue of our soldiers. The Negro people of Harlem are Americans—not Americans *too*—just *Americans*. They are giving all any American can. Men from Harlem go to war—knowing they are going to be Jim Crowed. Negro women join the auxiliaries that will have them, knowing that they will be Jim Crowed too! Brutality against colored soldiers by civilian, as well as by military personnel, is commonplace in America. And Negroes in Harlem know this. So when a white policeman shot a colored solder, all that the people understood was this: *Georgia had come to New York!* In protest they rioted.

WHAT about the solution? The many meetings held during the emergency were all to the good: but any lasting remedies will have to stem in great part from the mayor's office. Harlem must be helped: its people must be integrated into New York life wholesomely. They merit such inclusions. An interracial committee must be formed; with official backing it must work concretely to solve many of the great racial problems of Harlem. Our government must act to assure the Negro of his American citizenship. Black men must improve within their own ranks to handle well the added responsibilities of new rights.

There are no pop ideas or blue-printed means to solve the problems, but the fact that all the world knows of them is a good sign. The world knows Harlem is a "Hell Hole"; it should understand, then, why little people rose up one Sunday night and cried, "I am an American—treat me like one!"

BEN RICHARDSON.

Harlem Citizens. During the disturbances, these Negroes quietly stayed in front of a restaurant to protect it for their friend, the white owner.

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THE LIBERALS AND MORAL INTEGRITY

A letter from Earl Browder to the editors of the "Nation." Do they claim "complete irresponsibility, moral and political, as well as factual?"

SINCE the liberal weekly the *Nation* habitually passes scornful judgment against the Communists on grounds of a supposed failing in moral and intellectual integrity, it is interesting to put that publication itself under examination to see if it deals fairly with its readers. As a contribution to this task, I submit a little case history.

On July 12 I addressed the following letter to the *Nation:*

"Editor, the *Nation:*

"Your issue of July 10, page 46, contains the astounding statement that the position of the Communist Party is 'to oppose President Roosevelt's attempt to limit salaries to $25,000 per year.'

"Anyone who makes the slightest attempt to be informed on the Communist Party position knows that it has been militantly supporting the President's entire seven-point program from the moment of its publication in April 1942.

"In my book *Victory—And After,* which has reached considerably more than 1,000,000 readers, I gave extended and positive consideration to the President's proposal to limit incomes to $25,000 per year. Of course, if Mr. Ralph Bates gets his information about the Communist Party from the columns of the *Nation* he would know nothing of this, since your publication has not seen fit to review that book.

"May I ask what is the purpose in dealing with the Communists on the basis of imagined and imputed programs, while concealing or ignoring our most complete statements on the fundamental issues of the day? Frankly, I cannot understand the purpose, even in terms of hostility to the Communists, for such distortion finally reacts against yourself, and injures only such causes as we hold in common (I assume)—national unity and victory in the war.

"I am hoping as one of the signs of a better day, that such misrepresentations will cease, and where they occur they will be corrected."

IN ITS issue of July 31 the *Nation* published the following response in its letter department:

"GOOD NEWS"

"Dear Sirs: In a review of Dr. Sturmthal's *Tragedy of European Labor* I said that the Communist Patry had opposed President Roosevelt's desire to limit salaries to $25,000. Mr. Earl Browder informs me that I am mistaken. I make this correction with considerable relief.

New York, July 21. Ralph Bates."

That's all! The question is settled for the *Nation!* It learns "with considerable relief" the "good news" that the Communist Party is supporting a measure that it always supported, which the *Nation* said the Communists opposed and therefore cited as a factor in passing general judgment upon the trend of the whole world's labor movement. But in reversing itself on the facts, the *Nation* feels no necessity to revise its conclusions, or to explain the astounding circumstance that it did not know the facts! It does not even feel any compulsion to publish my letter, although the *Times* and *Herald Tribune,* leading conservative newspapers, have consistently observed of late the etiquette of permitting space in their own columns for answers to their attacks. The *Nation* evidently feels superior to such moral compulsions.

If the *Nation* has no moral obligations in relation to the Communists, it would still seem, however, that it must assume some moral obligations to its own readers. It has a minimum duty to explain how it could happen that its columns could state the exact opposite of the facts, as an argument upon which it bases its political conclusions. Is this a habit of the *Nation?* Does it follow this practice *only* in relation to the Communists? How far does this sublime ignorance of the facts extend? Do the editors feel no moral compulsion to explain these questions to their readers?

A SIMILAR recent example of misrepresenting facts about the Communists was the echoing (in both the *Nation* and *New Republic*) of the Roy Howard canard about a "marriage" between the Communists and Mayor Hague in New Jersey. Clearly, none of the editors involved read the political articles on which the canard was based. All of them ignored, and *continue to ignore,* the obvious fact that in New Jersey the Communists were simply supporting the political policy of organized labor and of President Roosevelt. They have not even themselves opposed the policy itself! But in some mysterious way they have concluded, and passed the conclusion on to their readers as gospel, that there is a deep moral rottenness in the Communists' supporting a policy which is blameless and even praiseworthy in others!

The question arises: Are the liberals claiming complete irresponsibility, moral and political, as well as factual?

EARL BROWDER.

Leopold Mendez in "The Black Book of the Nazi Terror."

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PREJUDICE CAN'T BUILD UNITY

Striking a balance sheet of the discussion based upon the Magil-Lerner exchange of letters. Some constructive proposals. An editorial article.

WITH this issue we bring to a close that phase of the discussion of unity between Communists and non-Communists which was initiated in our July 13 issue by the exchange of letters between Max Lerner and A. B. Magil and our own editorial comment. In the main all the arguments are in and the time has come to strike a balance and move ahead.

This discussion was precipitated by the dissolution of the Communist International. Mr. Magil wrote an open letter to Mr. Lerner, pointing out that this historic event offered an opportunity for non-Communists and Communists to cooperate in destroying the anti-Communist myths which have proved so divisive and harmful not only internationally, but within our own country. He urged that Mr. Lerner and other liberals exercise "constructive leadership" in helping to make such cooperation possible. In his reply Mr. Lerner stated that while such unity "is possible and desirable on limited and concrete issues," and while "we must join on everything that can win the war," even on these issues "there can be no common action unless the Communists cease behaving like a slick Tammany of the left, intent on taking over every organization with which they work, bent on ruling or ruining."

We have published fifteen comments from leading Americans on the issues raised in the Lerner-Magil correspondence, as well as a number of letters from readers. (In fact, nothing that has appeared in NEW MASSES in years has evoked such response from readers.) Among the leading Americans who commented there were those like Frank Tuttle, Hollywood writer and director, Daniel Howard, chairman of the Connecticut Conference on Social Legislation, Clifford T. McAvoy, legislative director of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, and Thomas Bell, novelist, who with varying emphasis and for varying reasons thought that Communists and non-Communists ought to work together to bury the Red bugaboo and possibly for other common aims. On the other hand, there was Lewis Gannett, literary critic of the New York *Herald Tribune*, whose comment on Red-baiting was: "I don't see why Communists should be immune from criticism." Mr. Gannett thinks it was all right for Russia to have signed the pact with Germany, but all wrong for Americans to have supported it. Because of the differences that arose during the pact period Mr. Gannett feels he "cannot comfortably cooperate with Americans who took that dangerously irresponsible course, even when they have swerved far from it."

In between these two poles of opinions are such views as that of Dwight J. Bradley, director of the Council for Social Action, who describes Red-baiting as "a streamlined form of Ku Kluxism," who favors collaboration of Communists and non-Communists "in an attack upon all manifestations of fascist tendency," but who thinks there is "a fascist tinge to American Communism as dangerous as any other manifestation of fascist tendency"—a paradox which he doesn't explain.

The comment of Ralph Bates differed from the others in that he ignored the problem of Red-baiting, as well as the question of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists to combat it. Instead he concerned himself with the relations between Communists and the USSR and with the outlook for a united front between the adherents of the Second and Third Internationals. Mr. Bates favors such a united front. We are not certain that we follow him through all the permutations of his reasoning, but on the whole he appears to have posed the issue of unity rather narrowly. And his belief that unless this war results in a "transformation of society," it will "have had only negative significance," seems to us a wrong and schematic approach to a titanic struggle whose primary purpose is to defend or restore national independence, but which in that very process sets in motion liberating forces of vast social impact.

LET us turn again to the substance of our discussion. Since it was begun there has been all too ample confirmation of the evil effects of Red-baiting and corollary bigotries on the war effort and the entire national perspective. One need only point to Congress' insistence on firing from the government service three distinguished anti-fascists, Robert Morss Lovett, William E. Dodd, Jr., and Goodwin Watson; to Martin Dies' triumph in ousting John Bovingdon from the Office of Economic Warfare; to the tenor of the campaign against Vice-President Wallace. None of these men is a Communist; all are progressives and anti-fascists. And all have for that reason been attacked with a weapon whose effectiveness derives solely from the fact that there have been implanted in the popular mind lies about Communists and Communism. Root out these lies, and you reduce to impotence those responsible for the Washington Gestapo so vividly described in two recent articles in the *Nation*, those responsible for the fantasies and phobias that feed distrust toward our Soviet ally, those whose activities cast a pall over every progressive movement and confuse the people on so many vital issues. How absurd to regard anti-Communism as merely an issue for Communists and their sympathizers. Hitler and Dies have proved the contrary so thoroughly that there ought to be no need to argue the point.

Yet the fact remains that certain liberals, who are properly outraged at the successes of the Red-baiters in Washington and elsewhere, persist in contributing to those successes by their own Red-baiting. When Freda Kirchwey in the July 31 issue of the *Nation* calls for a struggle against the reactionary reign of terror in Washington, just how effective is her appeal when in the same issue the *Nation* echoes the terrorists in its comments on the American Labor Party? Instead of working for unity in the ALP, instead of supporting Sidney Hillman's proposal for the broadening of the party's trade union base, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, *PM*, and the New York *Post* joined in the hue and cry that the Progressive Committee, led by Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Eugene P. Connolly, was the spearhead of a Red plot to capture and ruin the ALP. It seems to us that this was not only stooping very low journalistically and morally, but giving heavy hostages to Martin Dies at the expense of liberalism and every liberal cause.

IN HIS reply to A. B. Magil, Max Lerner set down as the fourth of the "essential broad conditions of change" on the part of Communists which he considers prerequisite to collaboration with them that Communists "must play fair on a moral level." NEW MASSES plans to publish in the near future an article discussing in detail Mr. Lerner's four conditions. We agree with him that the fourth is the most crucial of all. That is why it must be binding on non-Communists as well. Particularly ought those who bring moral accusations against the Communists take care that they come into court with clean hands. On page 17 of this issue Earl Browder tells of the frivolous manner in which the *Nation* regards its moral obligation where the truth about the Communist position on a specific question is concerned. Other examples come to mind. Neither the *Nation* nor the *New Republic*, nor, for that matter, the daily press has seen fit to correct the completely false reports they spread about the relation

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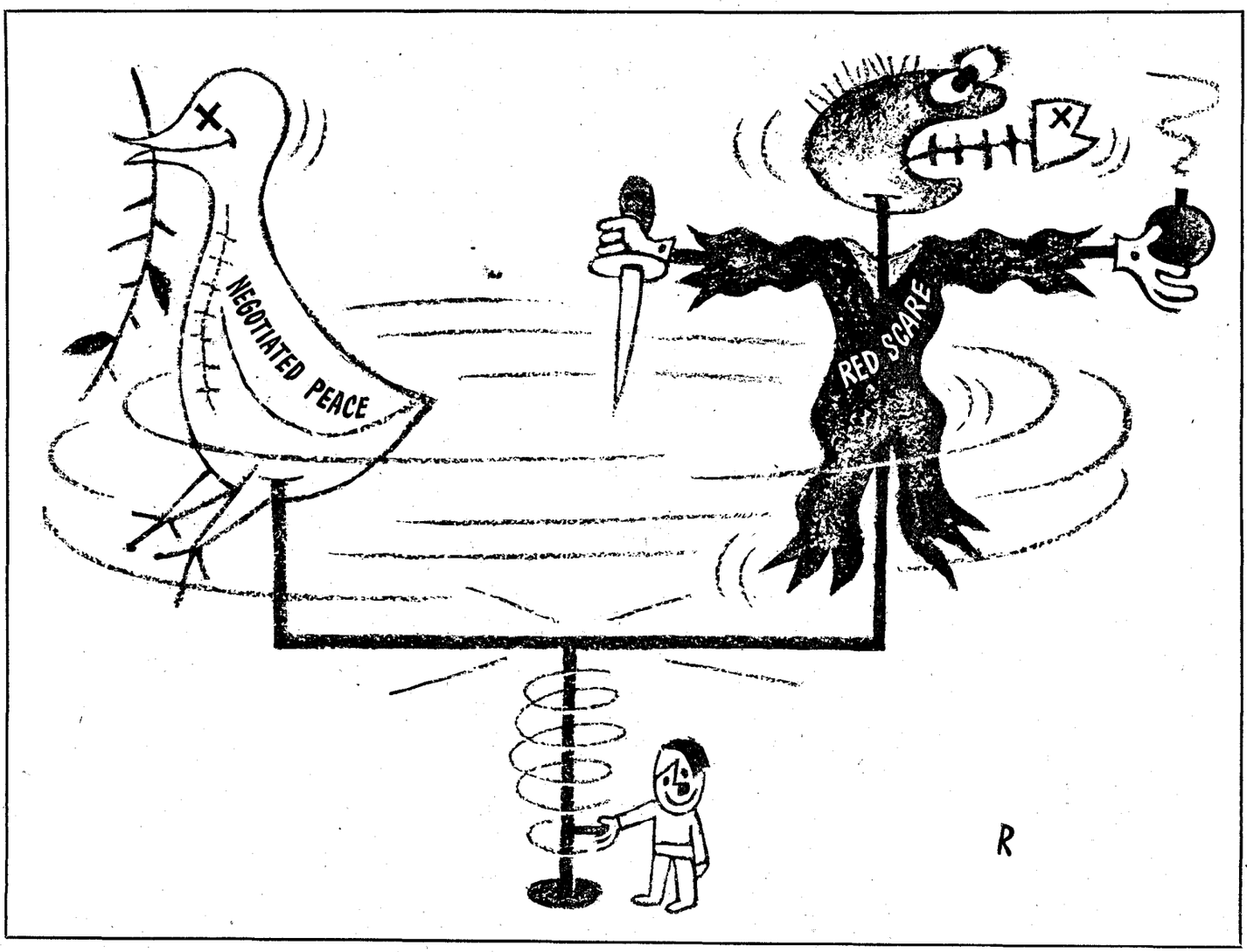
of the Communist Party to Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. None of them has had the moral and intellectual integrity to point out that the Communist position on the New Jersey political situation was in fact the position of the CIO, the AFL, and the Railroad Brotherhoods and has resulted in the agreement of the Hague and Edison factions of the Democratic Party on a candidate for governor.

One also cannot help noting that neither the *Nation* nor the *New Republic* has taken time out of its denunciations of the ALP Progressives to devote a line to the high moral standard set by one of the right wing leaders, Luigi Antonini, in allying himself with recent and dubious converts from Italian fascism and in giving an exclusive interview to the Hearst press assaulting the Soviet Union with Doctor Goebbels' choicest epithets. Nor did these two publications, which presume to speak in the name of American liberalism, deem it necessary to take note of Justice Murphy's historic decision in the Schneiderman case. This decision cuts the ground from under the Red-baiters, whether reactionary or "liberal," by arriving at conclusions concerning the Communist program and aims quite contrary to those of the *Nation* and *New Republic* editorials.

This is not written with the purpose of putting these magazines on the spot. It is written to emphasize that blind prejudice against Communists, like blind prejudice against the Soviet Union, hurts America and American progressivism. Those who persist in determining their present attitude toward American Communists on the basis of past differences with them have impaled themselves on the horns of a self-created dilemma. For most of them have at least implicitly accepted the idea that collaboration with Communists is necessary and beneficial in every country except the United States. This war is being won thanks largely to the magnificent deeds of Russian men and women who have the same Marxist philosophy and social ideals as the American Communists. In France the Communists are an integral and recognized part of the resistance movement led by the French Committee of National Liberation. In Yugoslavia they are an official part of the political and military forces responsible for the heroic struggle of the Partisans against the Axis invaders. In Italy the Communist Party is a member of the five-party coalition which includes the Christian Democratic and other bourgeois parties. In Czechoslovakia the Communists are represented in the National Council of the government-in-exile. In Cuba a Communist, Juan Marinello, sits in the cabinet of President Batista. In Chile the Communist Party is part of the coalition which elected President Rios. In China the indispensable role of the Communists has long been acknowledged.

Isn't it curious that in all other countries the Communists are patriots, but in the United States they are "political buccaneers" (the *Nation*, July 31), plotters engaged in "a desperate bid to seize the ALP and to put anti-Communist labor leaders out of business" (*PM*, July 25). Something is askew in all this. Intelligent persons cannot help inquiring whether it doesn't fly in the face of all logic and reason. There is in fact a very large body of liberals and progressives who no longer believe the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet myths of Hearst and Dies which the editors of the liberal press in such large measure still cling to. Some of them have contributed to our symposium. Some of them have written letters to *PM* protesting



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against its biased attacks on the ALP Progressives. Their number is growing.

And then there is the reminder which one of the contributors to our symposium, Lyle Dowling, gives us, that "Communists and non-Communists are in fact working together on a scale very much greater than that of any previous year." As executive assistant of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, one of the largest and most influential CIO unions, Mr. Dowling is no doubt in a position to know the situation in the labor movement. We might add that there is another most important area in which collaboration of Communists and non-Communists is a fact: the armed forces. When Sergeant Bob Thompson, former Young Communist League organizer in Ohio, was recently cited for extraordinary bravery in the Pacific fighting, it sharply underlined that while Max Lerner may make all kinds of reservations to working with Communists, he and the whole of our American nation are being saved by Communist and non-Communist boys who work and fight together unreservedly and with all their hearts.

THIS collaboration needs to be strengthened and extended and given a public instead of a furtive character if we are to overcome the enemies of America at home and abroad. Anti-Communism, as Earl Browder rightly points out, is the twin of anti-Semitism; both are weapons with which the enemy seeks to conquer our minds as a prelude to conquering our soil and civilization. Once more, therefore, we appeal to the American press, particularly its liberal section, and to the public as a whole to do three things:

(1) Refrain from Red-baiting in any form.

(2) Actively combat Red-baiting, whether it is directed at Communists, non-Communists, or at the Soviet Union.

(3) Play fair with the American Communist Party. Criticize it when you disagree with it, but only in the way you criticize other political groups. Give it credit for what it is doing to help win the war and make our country a force for progress and enlightenment. Present its program and proposals without bias or distortion. Help create an atmosphere in which Communists will on all levels of American life be treated equally with Americans of other political affiliations.

Let us remember: the Communist Party represents a historic movement which can survive under all conditions, even in the underground depths of Nazi Germany. But our national independence and our democracy cannot survive under all conditions. There is a great war to win and more than a war—a world. To win it our country needs the strength, the devotion, the unity of all Americans.

SOME ADDITIONAL VIEWS

Irving H. Flamm

Chicago attorney, author of "An Economic Program for a Living Democracy."

When I read your announcement of a forthcoming "exchange" between Magil and Lerner concerning the prospects of a union among the liberal forces, I looked forward to the event with keen interest; for I had long regarded as one of the great tragedies of our time the fact that those groups who were known as "liberals," "progressives," "socialists," "Communists," or "radicals," all men of good will striving for the same kind of social order, were busy denouncing each other and thus providing a field day for their mutual enemies, the reactionaries and fascists. These liberal groups have been sniping at each other for years, dissipating their energies in petty squabbles while throughout the world the fascists were marching in and taking possession. It happened in Italy, in Spain, in Germany, in France, and elsewhere. It was this very disunity among the liberal forces of the world that finally brought on the present world conflagration and when the war is over, it is that same disunity that may provide the springboard for our native fascists.

When I finished reading the "exchange" I sank back into the depths of despair. The same old sniping, the same subtle innuendoes, the same old charges, countercharges and denials, all dealing with interpretations of events that have passed into history. I had the feeling of wanting to knock together the heads of those two eminent writers as a rude reminder that they had been brought together for a specific and serious purpose; and that purpose was not to haggle like a couple of fishwives about Russia or whether the Comintern was or was not a tool of the Russian regime.

I, for one, have reached some tentative conclusions about Russia. I believe that her revolution has justified itself. It has produced many valuable fruits. Industrially, culturally, and even politically, the Russians have made great strides. The sins and crimes committed in the process may have been inevitable. When revolutions are born in violence it is too much to expect even-handed justice. But now that the convulsions have subsided, I believe that Russia is heading toward democracy. That is my opinion today after reading the available evidence on both sides. Somehow, the testimony of the Webbs, Hewlett Johnson, Pat Sloane, and others who testify in the same vein, seems more credible than that of the Utleys, the Eastmans, and the Lyons. Of course, the evidence is all hearsay so far as I am concerned, and in the future new evidence may come in to change my opinion. But so far, I am glad to say that the evidence piled up during the past two years has confirmed my judgment. I am beginning to feel more and more that journalists catering to "the smell of the market" are responsible for many of the slanders against Russia. Russia is now our staunch ally and we should be glad to accept her as a friendly neighbor as long as she acts neighborly.

But why should liberals here concern themselves so much with the evils still remaining in Russia? in Russia more than in France or Rumania or Britain or even here in America? Just think of the evils still to be found in our own land. We have an undemocratic economy which makes for huge economic waste, unemployment cycles, gross inequalities, labor wars, huge rewards unrelated to merit or work, illiteracy, racketeering, monopolies, profiteering, extreme poverty in the midst of abundance, etc. And as for our political setup, we still have racial intolerance, class wars, millions of disenfranchised voters, Jim Crow laws, lynchings, graft, bribery, corrupt political machines, an uninformed electorate, Oklahoma book trials and other like purges, race riots, regimentation, violations of civil liberties, and general disunity. Here is a formidable list of evils within our own land that need attention and it is only a partial list. Have we liberals the right to spend our days prying into Russian internal affairs, quibbling about whether or not the Russian regime has put its own house in perfect order? Let's get busy on our own. The liberal elements have an urgent job to do and that job involves the cleaning up of evils right here in America. The Russians seem to be doing a pretty good job for themselves. Let's see to it that they do not leave us too far behind on the road to democracy.

One more point: On reading Magil's and Lerner's articles and your editorial comment, I am more than ever convinced that the division among liberals is in a

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large measure due to semantic barriers. Liberalism has become entangled in our verbal network and it must extricate itself before it can do anything useful. How can there be a meeting of minds when you people simply do not talk in the same language? Abstractions and vague generalizations appear throughout and I am sure that they do not produce the same picture on each mental screen.

Since the purpose of NEW MASSES is to find out whether the various liberal factions can unite behind some national program, why shouldn't you make a business-like synthesis of the program in your own mind, showing *specifically* what you propose to have us *do*. It is not enough to *talk* about intellectual concepts like "democracy," "democratic collectivism," "socialism," "planned economy," etc. You must project these hazy terms into paper programs of *action* which show not only a clearly defined goal, but also a clearly understood road map, showing us how to get there. The transition techniques will help us to understand the goal. When you begin talking about *specific* institutions and *specific* transition techniques rather than theoretical abstractions, you liberals may find your disagreements dissolving into thin air.

Rev. Alson J. Smith

Bayport, Long Island, Methodist Church

Whatever a man may have to say about anything is to be understood only against the background from which he speaks, and what he has to say inevitably takes on some protective coloring from his environment. Therefore it should be understood that while I of course cannot speak *for* the Church, I do speak *from* the Church—against a traditionalist and, theologically at any rate, conservative background.

What effect do I think the dissolution of the Communist International will have on national and international unity? Not much. In the foreign offices perhaps a little, in the press and among the people, hardly any at all. The press, big business, and other powerful elements do not hate Communism because it is international, but because it is anti-capitalist. And as long as it is anti-capitalist, in one country or many, they will continue to hate it.

What do I think of Red-baiting? Not much. I've known a good many Red-baiters, and they are a sleazy lot. For most of them, Red-baiting is a psychological reaction to impotence, inferiority, and frustration. For the rest it is an excuse for hammering at labor, unpopular minorities, etc. At a time when "Reds" stand between us and Hitler the Red-baiters' pitiable activities become treasonable.

Would I favor collaboration of non-Communists with Communists to liquidate the Communist bugaboo? I certainly would, and do. I am not and never expect to be a Communist, but I much prefer their company to that of native racists, fascists, and so-called "Christian" Fronters. The Communists I have known have been smart, hard-working, honest people with whom it has been a pleasure to work—and, sometimes, to disagree. I believe that the Communists, with all their faults—and they have them—are going the way I want to go. More basically, I believe they are going the way the Church wants to go.

Do I think the Communist Party ought to be treated as an integral part of the nation's win-the-war forces? Why not? (A nation that, in the fraternity of arms, can call a Cotton Ed Smith "brother" has no business black-balling Earl Browder.) But it is wishful thinking to believe that this will happen. Again, let me emphasize it—the powers that be are not against Communism because it is for or against the war, the peace, or anything else, but because it is anti-capitalist.

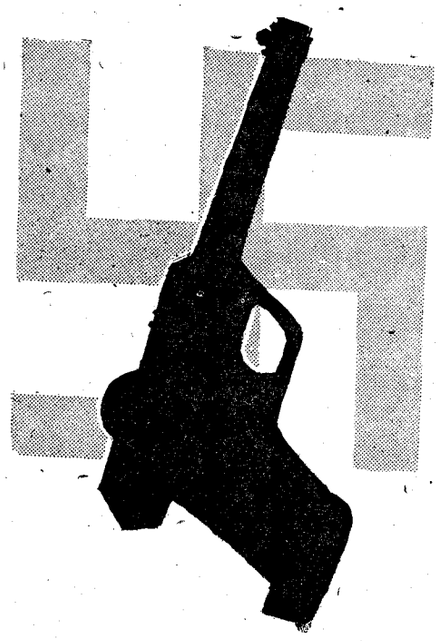
I thought the discussion between Mr. Magil and Mr. Lerner interesting, but very academic and therefore not too important. It reminds one faintly of the medieval debates on how many angels could dance on the point of a needle.

I believe that the world's most valid hope for peace lies in a meeting of the only two forces in our time which combine the necessary idealism and practicality to rebuild Mr. Lerner's "City of Man"—Communism and Christianity.

Rockwell Kent

Artist

The matter under discussion, "Can Communists and non-Communists Unite?", is one of profound importance to the people of America and the people of all the democratic allied nations. It is only less important nationally than it has come to be internationally. Stated in international terms the question is, in wartime, "Can the armed forces of England and America cooperate with the Red Army?" The answer is: "They'd better cooperate or the cause of democracy and of civilization is lost."



Less apparent to many people, but none the less true, is the fact that unless the non-Communist majority of the people in the United States accepts the tendered cooperation of the Communists toward the winning of this war, our war and peace efforts will be impaired and a betrayal of democracy will, by that rejection, have been accomplished. It is a peace conference that you have summoned, and the two delegates to it, Lerner and Magil, might have been expected to conduct themselves with such mutual courtesy as would put no unnecessary obstacles in the way of arriving at a working agreement. But Lerner, it appears, was an unwilling delegate already strongly prejudiced against your purpose and too recently involved in a prize ring appearance with another Max to show good manners.

The four questions that you submit to me concern the dissolution of the Communist International, the effect on the social and political life of our country of Red-baiting, and the general question of collaboration of non-Communists with Communists to win the war. I will try to answer them:

Communism—or socialism, let us say—is as international in its nature as anything that concerns the well-being of mankind. It is as international as Christianity or, to be fair, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Buddhism, or any faith that holds mankind to be the children of one God. It was not for Americans alone that the preamble of our Declaration of Independence was written; and it was neither for Germans, nor for the English, nor the French, nor the peoples of the Soviet Union that Marx defined the ultimate hope of Communism as a human society that should receive "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." That was an utterance as stirring as anything in the Sermon on the Mount. The American Declaration of Independence had a profound effect on Europe. The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and the Soviet Constitution have had a profound effect upon people everywhere in the world. It is natural, and all but inevitable, that people who hold a common faith should unite for the promotion of that faith. That the accomplishments of the Soviet Union and the policies that led to them should have been respected by Communists elsewhere is inevitable and proper. And that this respect should have been reflected

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in the policy of Party organizations outside the Soviet Union would quite naturally follow.

It is no proof of coercion. Indeed, coercion is not to be believed in without evidence of a power to back it. Nevertheless, the idea has persisted—no matter through what agencies—that the non-Soviet members of the Communist International are merely instruments of Soviet policy. It is in recognition, I believe, of the unfortunate reality of this belief, "that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, unwilling in this critical time to offer even a pretext for international mistrust, withdrew from the Comintern." I believe it to have been a splendid act for the promotion of mutual trust among the nations. I believe that if the Church of Rome should dissolve its international affiliations—affiliations far more actual and potent either for good or evil in international politics than the Comintern has ever been—it would be a great step forward in the promotion of the cause of democracy.

As to Red-baiting there is little that I can say, and keep my temper. I believe that if a Gallup Poll should be conducted to include these two questions: (1) Are you anti-Communist? (2) What is Communism?, you would not have one in ten thousand who, having answered question one in the affirmative, could answer question two at all. Red-baiting can only thrive on ignorance.

William Carlos Williams

Poet and Novelist

Replying to your question, Can Communists and non-Communists unite? No, not in the same nation, that's why we have nations. But if you'll put your question, Can a Communist nation unite with a non-Communist nation? Certainly and why not? We aren't afraid of them and they're not afraid of us. In fact we seem to like them, individually, and many of us admire their intellectual make-up. They seem cleaner than the swine we are used to fighting to keep our nation halfway honest and anti-thug.

It is going to be *some* laugh when the war is over and we've beat the mirror-writing we are so practically familiar with under a different name at our own doorsteps,—it's going to be *some fun* if Russia or the Russian system, now on a basis of friendship with us, begins to be a brilliant and overwhelming success from a *business* standpoint. Nobody ever thought of that. Oh boy! is it going to be fun to watch the subtle change that will come over the local fascist. Man to man, does any one think that a hard boiled American businessman is so stupid that he won't shift his political complexion if there's *money in it?*

You've got to ask me a harder one than that.

READERS' FORUM

More Comments

To New Masses: Max Lerner's letter in reply to A. B. Magil's disturbed me. If a supposedly well informed liberal could have those ideas and make such deductions, how about the ordinary citizen or the reactionary? It is a challenging thought, and means that there is much education to be done.

My reaction to Max Lerner's letter was that he was basing his conclusions on facts or articles published in the commercial press and that he had not gone to primary sources for his information. I have enough confidence in him to think he would not have made a number of statements and drawn a number of the conclusions he did if he had had the real facts and not the reported facts.

Would even Max Lerner contend there had been no change in the complexion of the war since June 22, 1941? The attitude of the English workers as well as of American workers has changed and that is true of people all over the world except perhaps in Asia. That is what makes the situation in India so important.

Another point on which I'd like to take issue with Max Lerner is leadership. Who has done the real leading in the industrial world if not Earl Browder with his *Victory—and After* and the so-called "Communists"?

Finally, what is patriotism? Isn't it such a love for one's country that one would put forth his greatest effort to improve his country. To improve it means to better living conditions for everybody, the laborer, the white-collar worker, and the professional. Every Communist is always working along this line whatever his status. Knowing this, could anyone except a reactionary who thinks of patriotism as maintaining the status quo question the patriotism of Communists?

First of all Communists are Americans and are alive to America's needs. Second, they are alive to conditions in other countries. They knew the meaning of collective security when only now the general public has come to realize it. They were alive to the issues in Spain when a progressive national government was trying to institute much needed reforms there. They saw the danger of the increasing strength of the Nazis, due largely to the appeasement of both England and France. They condemned the selling of oil and scrap iron to Japan. So while the first consideration of the American Communists is for the increased welfare of Americans, they are also alive to all international issues that may affect that welfare.

Howard Burton.

Brooklyn.

To New Masses: As one who has just joined the Communist Party, I read with interest the letters of Messrs. Lerner and Magil. I have no constructive suggestions to make—my job is to learn—but I would like a little clarification, particularly from Mr. Lerner, whose *PM* editorials I have often heartily subscribed to.

Just a word about my political background. My knowledge of history is practically nil—deriving from a couple of prescribed college courses. I joined the Communist Party after I became convinced of the contradictions of capitalism, and after floundering around in one well-intentioned liberal group after another. All of the individual Communists I have come in contact with impressed me as being clear-thinking, tolerant, adaptable, and constructive. I have no intrinsic, particular love for Russia, or the founders of Communism *per se*. Any other system which points the way to certain very simple objectives will secure my loyalty. These objectives are the same as Mr. Lerner's—those which "fulfill the promise of American life," such as maximum production, shorter work week, freedom for minorities, equal opportunities for women, freedom for all Americans from the complete lifetime absorption of harassing economic worries.

"Ultimately," I too believe such a life will come. But I should like to hear Mr. Lerner's constructive program, in which I can join, for hastening the ultimate. I fear, for example, that our current capitalist policy, our French policy, as demonstrated in North Africa will, by much time and trouble, circumvent the ultimate.

So it is not that I take the Russian answer, Mr. Lerner. It is that I see no other. As for democracy, I don't know about Russia, though it sounds very democratic to me. I do know, however, that I wish no more for my country than that it function as truly democratically as the Party I see in operation. If I'm blind, I'll be happy to see the light. As to Mr. Lerner's request for moral fairness, I guess clarification of this would involve a great deal of understanding of objectives, and program, which Mr. Magil can give much better than I. However, on an individual basis, perhaps not as Mr. Lerner meant it, moral fairness could be achieved by an end of Red-baiting. After being accused of being a Communist for years for mild liberal expressions, I, for example, decided I might as well be hung for a wolf as a lamb. This would certainly be more my country if I could be recognized as a loyal American, striving for betterment of American conditions, and not find it necessary to disavow my affiliation.

New York. F. S.

To New Masses: In his reply to A. B. Magil, Max Lerner betrays his own weakness in the last sentence of his second paragraph: "I believe in gestures and I live by symbols."

All too true! In place of Magil's personal modesty and impersonal facts, Lerner gives us personal "gestures" and impersonal "symbols."

Cambridge, Mass. H. W. L. Dana.

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WHAT CAN WE DO?

I'M AFRAID that I can't write my usual column this week. There are too many things on my mind and I think I need my reader's help more than he needs mine. I am thinking, for example, of Morris U. Schappes, the teacher who is faced with prison because he has worked for a world in which all men shall be free and life shall be rich and beautiful. What can we do about this? It is intolerable that such a man shall suffer imprisonment, that belief in a world without war and poverty shall be converted into a crime called perjury. It is intolerable that we should stand aside and do nothing while such a travesty occurs. Of course we can join the Schappes Defense Committee. Surely we will send money to the committee at 13 Astor Place, New York City, but isn't there something more? The Oklahoma cases, you'll remember, were known the country over. Can't we show how this case endangers the war effort, pollutes the moral atmosphere and that it is truly Hitlerian and anti-American to send such a man to prison because of such beliefs? What can we do in this case in addition to what is being done?

I'M THINKING, too, of the Jews in Europe, but I confess that sometimes thinking and writing about the 3,000,000 defenseless Jews who have been tortured and murdered by the Nazis, about the 4,000,000 who face death now, seems almost a shoddy thing unless it is accompanied by action. And yet I believe in words. I believe that Ilya Ehrenburg's article in NEW MASSES of August 3 will do much to help. If only the American war worker could think each instant that every movement he makes plays its part in rescuing the 4,000,000 survivors. If some means could be devised of synchronizing every motion everywhere connected with the war with the great specific issues at stake how much more swift would that rescue be! Can't we change our concept of the second front in Europe from a cool move in the chess of war to a crusade that liberates millions of specific humans, just like ourselves, who are suffering unbearable tortures? We must be careful that under the guise of careful preparation we do not conceal a heartlessness that will freeze even victory. I liked that part in Sam Sillen's interview with Prof. Solomon Michoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer in which the latter described the Soviet artillery commander who would shout: "For Anna Karenina . . . Fire!" "For our glorious literary traditions . . . Fire!" "To avenge Yasnaya Polyana . . . Fire!" As foreign as are such commands to American ears, as easy as they are of ignorant parody, they contain a clean and direct simplicity that to me has something of the great.

When can we tie up our war with the burning realities for which we fight—tie it up with genuine freedom for the Negro, with liberty and dignity for the Jew; with all the precious specifications which we believe our country promises and which we know Hitler would destroy? So that every shop wall proclaims it, every sign emblem emblazons it, and every person feels it.

WELL, what can we do? We can write letters. This may sound anti-climactic because too many have been beguiled by the half-truth that words are cheap. Yes, they may be cheap but they are too expensive in time and energy for many of us to use them often. Some words are cheap but not those which are honestly spoken for a good cause. Ten thousand letters can change a policy. Ten thousand letters could save Morris Schappes from two years in prison. Ten thousand letters that spoke for the Jews might easily save ten thousand lives.

So many of us say, "But there's really nothing I can do for the war! God knows I'm willing enough." A letter to Governor Dewey at Albany, New York, protesting the Schappes imprisonment will help win the war, for this is a war that can't be won by a country which imprisons men for working for a better world. Letters to prominent writers asking that they speak out against the slaughter of the Jews will help win the war for it is one that can't be won by adopting Hitler's race theories. Letters to President Roosevelt and our congressmen protesting the Jim Crow treatment of Negroes in the armed forces and industry will help win the war, for this is a war that can't be truly won without the goodwill and help of minorities everywhere. Letters to radio companies and motion picture corporations asking that they consistently and constantly proclaim the great truth of racial tolerance can help to win the war.

IF WE can write, we can act effectively. If we can speak we can serve our country. If we *will* write we can change the temper of Congress and there are few who would deny that that's important. We may not be able to write with the eloquence of Stephen Vincent Benet but if we speak up for tolerance we can spread from one end of America to the other the sentiment that lies behind these words of his:

. . . they are coming now
To the exile's country, the land beyond the star.
Remember that till you die. Remember that,
Remember the name of the outcast and the stranger.
Remember that when you say
"I will have none of this exile and this stranger
For his face is not like my face and his speech is strange."
You have denied America with that word
Though your fathers were the first to settle the land.

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FADIMAN'S FABLES AND FOIBLES

A leader of the "verve, swerve, nerve" school of criticism is put under the critical microscope. His attitude toward social and political realities.

No one can deny that Clifton Fadiman, the *New Yorker* book reviewer and professional radio wit, has an ear for good prose and an effective, clever style.

A good ear and a knack for phrasing conventional ideas so that they sound original are undoubtedly the essentials of successful book reviewing in the commercial journals. They are also the essentials of high class lingerie advertising, and one moves from the book section to the bra section with no sense of a change of pace usually, although the latter is a bit more dramatically illustrated. In fact, book reviewing has become a very curious form of advertising, the product of that modern type of professionalism—seen also in university classrooms, newspaper editorial staffs, and "institutes of public opinion"—which best serves Mammon by seeming to defy him. It is, I suppose, the reincarnation of that ancient "freethinker," the court jester, whose servility was ever inseparable from a certain false glitter of independence—swaggering, irresponsible, somehow despicable in its meaningless bravado.

People who swoon at the "sophistication" of court jesters will be annoyed when I assert that Clifton Fadiman's race prejudice, political slovenliness, and general shallowness make him exceedingly incompetent as an appraiser of books. But they cannot ignore the fact that many of the books reviewed (or not reviewed, like Browder's *Victory—And After*) deal directly with political problems of all sorts, and must be discussed with competence and responsibility. Furthermore, as many people have been saying for quite a long time, you cannot *understand* the meaning and value of a work of art unless you understand something about its social and intellectual context. A perfect example of this simple principle (that ignorance is a hindrance to intelligent criticism) is the Fadiman review of Ruth McKenney's *Jake Home*. I shall discuss this review at some length a little later on. The point I want to make now is that even the praise which a Fadiman metes out to many books is of doubtful value, because of his inability to perceive their most important qualities. An illustration of this meaningless praise is the Fadiman review of *The Grapes of Wrath*. The growth of social intelligence in Tom and Ma Joad, and in Casey, had no special meaning for him. The book was "*powerful.*" The book was "ominous." But its greatest achievement, the portrayal of the growth of awareness of life's meaning and potentialities—a real growth, not an artificial conversion—is completely ignored. In fact, Fadiman remarks that the Joads would make perfect followers for an American fascist movement—when the whole book portrays their growth into militant awareness of their need for economic and social democracy. Perhaps he is too "sophisticated" to consider this point an esthetic one. It is for this reason that he cannot stand a Communist hero. Thus, he accuses the hero of Maltz' *The Underground Stream* of melodramatic attitudinizing. According to this view, a man who submits to torture and murder rather than give essential information to fascists is simply displaying the "heroics" of a poseur. On the other hand, Fadiman is not too much of an esthete to be relieved that the puling protagonist of Granville Hicks' *Only One Storm* is rescued from Bolshevism and restored to good old haphazard liberalism: "Granville Hicks . . . has come home to stay."

Fadiman is so slick that he leaves hardly any vulnerable spots for a scalpel to get into. He almost always admits that he might possibly be wrong, as he did in his review of *Out of the Night*, with whose swashbuckling charms he was so taken. When the pressure of popular disgust with the Krebs-Levine concoction got pretty heavy, he wrote coyly:

> . . . *I admit I swallowed* (*nearly*)
> *Jan Valtin, whom—if he should prove but fable—*
> *I shall disgorge as fast as I am able.*
> *So much for Jan Valtin's veracity.*
> *And for "Out of the Night." That covers me.*

Notice the "nearly" and the "if." They are typical Fadiman: double protection, and as for discussing Red-baiting literature in a principled manner, as the warped and lying thing that it is, that sort of approach is too much for any slickie. That's getting out on the kind of limb that is sure to get sawed off behind you. It would be like reading *In Fact* on cigarettes over the Lucky Strike program. In the peculiar language of big-time advertising and journalism, it would be unethical.

However, in the past couple of years, Fadiman has been sitting out on a nice, safe limb. He has developed a fetish, which he shares with many other comfortable slickies and with some people like Rex Stout who should know better. It is the fetish of unqualified anti-Germanism. Almost every column now contains one or more racist profundities. Some typical quotations are: ". . . the ideas Hitler capitalized on have been the predominant ideas of the German people since Frederick the Great." (Feb. 7, 1942); ". . . that the present Nazi onslaught is not in the least the evil handiwork of a group of gangsters but rather the final and perfect expression of the most profound instincts of the German people . . . becomes more and more cogent and the true proportions of this war emerge with great clarity." (April 18, 1942); ". . . in a profound sense, there are no Nazis. The Nazis . . . are merely the latest and most terrible projection of the conscious German will to enslave the rest of the world. . . . Germany and the Nazis are almost indivisible." (Mar. 13, 1943); "The world has been appeasing the Germans ever since their human wolf packs broke out of their forest lairs in the time of Arminius. The result is a Europe on the verge of suicide." (Sept. 12, 1942);

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"The English may seem odd, but they have one splendid and basic thing in common with us: they are human. This, unfortunately, can scarcely be said of all races." (April 10, 1943); ". . . we are fighting Germans, not Nazis." (May 22, 1943).

Two distinguished Russian-Jewish visitors to our country recently made the terrible announcement that, according to Soviet Intelligence, the Jews of Germany have by now been completely exterminated. The racism of the fascists means the extermination of whole peoples. Lies about Germans are no more scientific or admirable than lies about Jews, and they have the same murderous idiocy. I do not believe that such a commonplace of social and biological science needs elaboration at this point. The newly formed Free German group in the USSR is not only an anti-Nazi organization of Germans (something that Fadiman must find incredible, because he gets his ideas about the facts of German life out of his own head); it is an act of faith—faith that the German people will shake off Hitlerism at the first break in the dread system of espionage, terror, and suppression of the truth. This is faith based on knowledge of the people, and has nothing to do with the glib and unhistorical assumption that the mass of inhabitants of aggressor nations must be exterminated for the crimes of fascist imperialism.

IT IS particularly infuriating to see people like Fadiman attribute their stupid and dangerous notions to the Russians. "It would be difficult," says the *New Yorker* review of Caldwell's *All Night Long*, "to explain the distinction between the Nazi leaders and the German people to Ivan Pavlenko, the one-legged guerrilla brigadier in Mr. Caldwell's novel." The slightest attention to the principles of socialism or to Stalin's speech on the subject of the German army and state would show that no one needs to "explain" things to the Russian people, who well understand that the Nazis are the enemies of all nations, including the German nation. The Russians' hatred of the German army is truly deep and bitter. They know that Nazism has poisoned and paralyzed the souls of far too many Germans. But they do not plan to perpetuate this condition into eternity by becoming wholesale murderers instead of aiding the wounded German nation to achieve a healthy democratic life.

In one instance, Fadiman has been forced to the wall. Reviewing Anna Seghers' magnificent novel *The Seventh Cross*, he admitted that "if Miss Seghers is right, Naziland is seamed and fissured with decency and nobility, virtues that must express themselves covertly and in darkness." This was as far as he would go, not wishing to recognize the fact that *The Seventh Cross* is esthetic proof (I do not believe the word *proof* is at all too strong; the book is written out of knowledge, not conjecture, as the most careful reading will show) that despite the efficiency of the repression, the great masses of Communist, Socialist, and trade union workers have not forgotten what they knew, and still find ways of reaching the youth. Fadiman, by the way, says, "It is interesting to note . . . that those who help Heisler are middle-aged." Although even this admission would break down the anti-German thesis, it isn't entirely true anyway. The Communist hero of the novel is helped by a number of young people in his escape from a concentration camp. There is one lad in particular who is first awakened to independent thought by his contact with the hero's problem, and who helps him without even meeting him face to face. One sees a thousand oblique, almost non-political forms of anti-Nazism in *The Seventh Cross*.

Fadiman's crude race prejudice, however, may seem to be a peculiar aberration on the part of an essentially enlightened individual. On the contrary, this prejudice is simply one manifestation of a primitive mentality. I have remarked on his unintelligent enthusiasm for the *Grapes of Wrath*—unintelligent because he praised its power but not its meaning. His reaction to that other touchstone of modern critical intelligence, *Native Son*, was identical. These novels are especially important as developments in the literature of the American working class. That is their context. But despite the fact that Fadiman has written that "a reviewer is not in the self-expression business," his objectivity cannot reach to that simple proposition. Nothing could be more arbitrary than his review of *Jake Home* (Feb. 27, 1943)—the perfect proof that when Communists come in the door, Fadiman's objectivity flies out the window. He had treated the author cavalierly once before, when her *Industrial Valley* was published. ("Miss McKenney is a humorist who doubles in labor problems.") But when *Jake Home* came out, Fadiman went to town. The reason: the point of view of the working class is alien and inscrutable to him, and consequently Communists, who represent this class in its most aware state, seem to him simply unbelievable. Anyone who treats Communists realistically will seem to Fadiman to be bluffing. Only the Valtin sort of comic melodrama can impress him. I am sure that he still thinks that *Out of the Night* is an authentic enough picture of Communist activity, even if the author *has* turned out to be a rather unsavory character.

TO RETURN to *Jake Home*. "It is impossible," wrote Fadiman, "not to admire Ruth McKenney's courage. From the outset her first long novel, *Jake Home*, has two strikes on it. It tells the story of a Communist organizer from his birth in a small Pennsylvania mining town to his high moment as the leader of a workers' parade in New York in 1932. That's enough to indicate that *Jake Home* appears at a fairly unfavorable moment. Most readers have their minds on something else than the dismal twenties and early thirties, and even though Miss McKenney, by her own lights, endows her protagonist with all the physical and most of the mental and moral virtues, not many readers are going to feel a natural throb of sympathy with a fervent Party-liner (oh, he backslides a bit, of course, now and then) like Jake Home."

I think the tone of these five opening sentences is worth noting. A novelist is forbidden to treat certain historical periods and certain types of people. Fadiman should have studied his Walt Whitman well enough to know that the era of dictating subject matter was long ago over. (The pure gall of this pronouncement is matched only by what Fadiman said, quite casually, on Jan. 31, 1942. Tolstoy, he remarked on that memorable date, was "hardly among the first-order intellects of Europe.") When Fadiman reviewed *The Song of Bernadette*, he did not point out that the majority of readers would not be interested in the time and subject matter of the novel. Nor did he do so while eulogizing the Krebs masterpiece or Freeman's *Never Call Retreat* or Hicks' latest bit of Pollyannism. Yet suddenly the period which includes a great depression, the beginnings of fascism as a world problem, and the growth to maturity of the American working class becomes "dismal," unworthy of treatment. But Fadiman isn't contradicting himself; he's just expressing himself poorly. He means, really, that subjects that have to do with workers (unless the workers are made to appear amusing by the way they talk, or excitingly immoral and tough) seriously and consciously struggling against unemployment, injustice, and reaction are "dismal" and uninteresting.

Again, the term "fervent Party-liner" is a clear indication of Fadiman's type of mind. He is the kind of liberal who imagines that all good Communists spend every waking hour arguing with people like him about the Non-Aggression Pact or sitting in little rooms abjectly memorizing Moscow directives. One of the great uses of a book like *Jake Home*—if a purely utilitarian one—is in the picture of the actual work and thoughts of real Communists which it gives. The inseparability of real Communists from the daily life and needs of the people is the most essential fact about them, without which their decisions of policy concerning dramatic matters like pacts and trials would be of no more significance than, say, Fadiman's.

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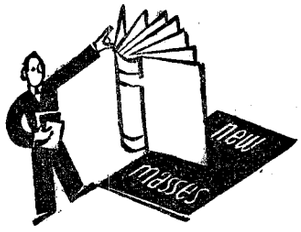

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Another great use such a book might have for our slick-paper Dr. Johnson would be to make clear the obvious fact that since most Communists in the flesh are observably people who like to think for themselves and who are likely to sacrifice considerable material comfort and security for the sake of intellectual freedom, they are not prone to servility of any kind, including obedience to a "line" of which they do not approve. But not even Browder's imprisonment could persuade a Fadiman that Communism is the voluntarily accepted program of an independent mind. Thus, the "dominating consciousness" which Henry James found so necessary to give purposeful intelligence to the development of a novel is rejected. And it is rejected because such a consciousness must today discipline itself by a scientific realism, rather than by assuming the superficial freedom of an irresponsible nonconformism.

We must add the crime of creating an attractive hero to the crimes of having him a worker, a Communist, and a person who lived and breathed in the 1920's. Students of literature will no doubt have great difficulty finding other works of talent whose heroes are strong, brilliant, and high-minded! As the leader of the smartypants brigade, Fadiman just doesn't believe that Hoyle permits Communists to be human or to write books from a Communist point of view. The simplicity of this vaunted sophisticate is intriguing. What can we say of a man who interprets Jake Home as presenting "the disheartening notion that people have to be poor to be decent"? And what shall we do with this remark?—"No, I fear many readers will hardly share Miss McKenney's passion for her red-haired hero. Some of them, surely, will gag at his humorless assumption that the woman he marries must necessarily live the kind of life he prefers." This criticism is particularly dishonest, and ranks with the remark about the German youth in *The Seventh Cross*. In the first place, if the character *did* make this "humorless assumption," that fact would make him unsympathetic, but would surely not make him a poorly drawn character or an uninteresting one. In the second place, he makes no such assumption. Jake Home's first marriage breaks up because his background and mind make it necessary for him to become an organizer of workers, while his wife is conventionally ambitious and wants him to have a respectable career. There is a basic incompatibility, and as a matter of fact, it is the wife who decides to have no more to do with *him*. We have here another example of Fadiman's inability to tell the truth when it contradicts his prejudices. These are the tricks of a tenth-rate reviewer. Jake Home's second marriage provides a complicated problem which Fadiman's statement doesn't even remotely describe. It might as well be applied to *Madame Bovary* or *Anna Karenina*. Yet the study of these two marriages ought to satisfy the *New Yorker* reviewer in point of intensity and psychological subtlety. And it would, if only the hero were concerned purely with his sex life and not at all with longshoremen and the New York unemployed and the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

And, apropos of these extra-curricular activities, how scornfully and inaccurately does Fadiman write! Jake Home's "maneuverings in the Sacco-Vanzetti case" are described as "no less political than those of liberals and Socialists whom Miss McKenney depicts with such stinging scorn. Nor will all of us heat up so easily," he asserts, "over the factional, intramural squabbles that seem to be a part of the required background of any novel about American Communists." Actually, there is nothing in the book about liberals and Socialists in the Sacco-Vanzetti case except a brief passage dealing, not with "political maneuver," but with the early failure of these people to build a mass movement around the case, and their reluctance to make use of Communist help. Again, there is really nothing about factional disputes in the Communist Party, the important struggles against Lovestoneism and Trotskyism being omitted entirely. Fadiman's viciousness indicates that *if* he read the book, his eyes were closed at the time and he was determinedly repeating "Communazi" over and over again.

But even if arguments about Communist theory and practice had been presented, why should a man who will write reams of claptrap logic about the Germans and the Japanese and Tolstoy and Catholic Mysticism and What Is Modernism object? Some of the most fascinating pages in Malraux and Rex Warner, among others, deal with Marxist theory, which can be intensely interesting because of its intimate relation to mankind's most urgent and essential problems. When Aristotle wrote about thought and its dependence on character (in the Greek tragedy), he was saying something which Fadiman does not yet understand. If Communist characters think, they are going to think as Communists. But since they are Communists, and not sickbed introverts, their thinking cannot of course be described as thinking, but must be "factional, intramural squabbles" and "dated ideology." It is as absurd to describe the artistic presentation of a Communist's thought in the 1920's as dated ideology as it would be to describe Kafka's religious symbolism in that way. No one, not even Fadiman, would dream of criticizing Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky or Fielding or Sterne for having ideas and presenting them. But it would seem that this privilege must be denied Com-

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munists and all others who speak of laborers and toilers, today, in 1943.

FADIMAN cannot compensate for the poverty of his understanding by praising Ruth McKenney's technical skill in describing protest demonstrations and other moving scenes. He may think of himself as "crazed with liberalism" (as Dorothy Parker once said of Cosmo Hamilton's novel *Caste* under similar circumstances) for doing so, but he is only proving that a good ear and a good mind are by no means the same thing. His ideas still remain the painfully stupid ones which we read daily in the press, set down gravely by adults in rompers. They may impress ginger ale and pickle magnates with the fact that he is a safe man. But we who do not dwell in the Land of Cockaigne want more than charm and polish from our critics. We want a concern for truth and justice.

That this concern has always been lacking in his writing, a brief review of his critical essays for the *Nation* in the late twenties and early thirties will show. As a bright boy fresh out of Columbia, he had mastered the pseudo-radical and arty lingo of the times (perhaps Ruth McKenney's satirical portraits of world-weary Village youths annoyed him somewhat, by the way). In one breath he would call for a revolutionary literature and in the next extol the genius of Thornton Wilder. Then he would whirl around and direct a few snappy remarks against capitalism, simultaneously proclaiming that the word democracy was now meaningless. For about five years, until the rise of Hitler, he devoted himself to the clever formulation of contradictory ideas and made a career by a series of articles which indicated the obvious virtues and defects of Dreiser, Lewis, Anderson, Lardner, Cabell, and others. These articles delighted the editors of the *Nation*. They sounded so iconoclastic and yet gave the philistines so many arguments against the developing realism of American fiction! Once a great battle of banalities threatened to develop between Fadiman and Krutch, the latter pretending that Fadiman was a Typical-Stupid-Marxist because he had implied that, since Hergesheimer did not have a revolutionary outlook, his novels were poor novels. But great minds like these two could not long disagree, and the debate petered out. The fearless young liberal has since become progressively plumper and sleeker.

But back in what he probably considers the halcyon days, Fadiman began to cultivate the narrow outlook which has by now matured. He extolled "discipline, criticism, and irony," and excoriated "freedom, liberty, and self-expression" as not being "emotionally connotative." The realism of the Dreisers and Lewises, he said, was built around "exhausted themes." (It is interesting that quite recently he referred to Lewis as our greatest American novelist). We should not go about "confusing a sociological purpose with an artistic one." On the other hand, we should study the realistic Europeans, great and small, not so much to find out about how a more powerful and profound people's literature was being developed in England and on the Continent, as to learn how to write with verve, swerve, and nerve.

The most hopeful of the young Americans were esthetes, said Fadiman, not mere crusaders or emotionalists like Dreiser and Anderson. Thornton Wilder—Mike Gold will be delighted to know—stood high for "conveying the widest possible philosophical emotion with the greatest economy of means." Aiken's stream-of-consciousness and Westcott's realism-sans-local-color and the general atmosphere of delicate artiness seemed to our Clifton "a greater achievement for American literature than all the works of Anderson, Lewis, and Cabell combined." For these were "craftsmen," they were "aristocratic," they had "ordered thought," and they were "adult." These were the standards to Bbe applied to all art. The "true short story," for instance, was "always a thing of artifice and delicacy."

FOUR or five years later, in the early thirties, Clifton was still at the same old stand, still attacking writers like Anderson and Dreiser in the *Nation*. Now, however, it was a token attack, really more respectful and explicatory than anything else. But you were still considered pretty much of a radical if you affected a certain critical nonconformism and used a certain jargon. I have mentioned Joseph Wood Krutch's chiding of Fadiman for his "Marxism." It is clear that Fadiman somehow thought of himself in that light, and we see him reproving Anderson for being a "sentimental rebel against industrialism" instead of a militant one. But this apparent radicalism was extremely mechanical and was nothing more than a bow to a current fashionable attitude. The influence of realism had not faded after all, but on the contrary had begun to deepen through the work of proletarian writers. It is clear that Fadiman never saw that the proletarian novel was the real heir to the great realistic tradition, and that the failing influence of bourgeois realism in America—that realism whose weaknesses of provincialism, naiveté, and shallowness he estimated competently enough—meant the rise of a more accurate and a more creative proletarian realism. To him the limitations of the older school meant that our writers must become virtuosos of the word.

In reality, then, he was repeating some of the dicta of James and Howells, but less humanly and certainly with less time-

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liness—while he was far behind the ideas of Emerson and Whitman on the themes of democracy and American life. Fadiman's mechanical radicalism was a stage which many shallow critics go through before they become permanently adjusted to unprincipled pragmatism and convenient impressionism. Fadiman was becoming like Edmund Wilson in several respects, but mainly in his deftness of explication. Already, in the *Nation* series, he sought rather to give a general impression of the subject matters of various writers than to criticize. That is, he concerned himself mainly with impressionistic description, only incidentally with historical or esthetic evaluation. He was fast becoming the reviewer of the *New Yorker*.

CLIFTON FADIMAN, then, is the most accomplished representative of the evils of the modern book review, as practiced by most newspapers and magazines. This type of review is mainly impressionistic. It is irresponsible, depending not on the honest determination of value by the application of established criteria, but upon the personal whim of the reviewer, who is often not a critic at all but a searcher for moving passages. One could quote, if space permitted, numerous Fadiman passages which contradict one another and which display shocking irrelevancy, incomprehension, and pseudo-profundity, because the impressionist's approach is thoroughly subjective and whimsical, even when he deals with authors whose theories of life do not upset him. If he happens to be ignorant, if he is reactionary, if he is dishonest when it suits him—then all the worse for the crucified reviewee, so far as the reviewer is concerned. The publishers have more influence with him than does the truth, and so do the prejudices of the conservative portion of the reading public, the quality of the paper on which the magazine is printed, and the superior glamour of a love scene in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (or in a brassiere ad) than to the simple truth in Alvah Bessie's *Men in Battle* or in Ruth McKenney's *Industrial Valley*.

MICHAEL ROBERTS.

Brooklyn Sunday

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One is reminded, too, of the controversy resumed among critics every so often as to the logic of reviving the novella as an art form, its practical adaptability to modern times. The question has always seemed to this reviewer an academic one, not to be decided on any philosophic or formalistic basis but a matter for the individual craftsman's own judgment, taste, and artistic good sense. Why should the long story—or the short novel, call it by whatever name you prefer—today have become outmoded, any more than the 5,000-word story or a novel of 800 pages? If a writer has something to say and says it well, says it moreover with the single line of development of action and theme peculiar to the story, long or short—as distinct from the more complex structure of the novel—why not?

Miley Brooks could have stayed where he was, in a defense job, but Miley didn't want to wait to be drafted. "I suppose being a soldier and going to war seems a dumb thing for a man to do who's always worried about wasting his life, considering that a war's nothing but organized waste and destruction. . . . And I hope we win. People like us. If we don't, if it turns out that the wrong guys I was telling you about weren't fighting the same war—well, I guess I'll just have to go on fighting. It's not the best use you can put a human life to and I know it. But it's the best use I can think of for this particular one, the one that belongs to Miley Brooks, who was born when he was and has to take it as it comes."

Miley is a pretty good example of the American worker, of young guys who have grown up since the depression years—self-reliant, practical, unsentimental. He and the boys like him on the production line are to the modern industrial era what the pioneers were in the America of the frontiersman and the buffalo. They have organized Ford and aircraft; manned the merchant marine; and fought for the rights of Negroes, Jews, all other national and religious minorities, as "brothers under the skin." They have given to the American labor movement the industrial union, the political consciousness, and progressive

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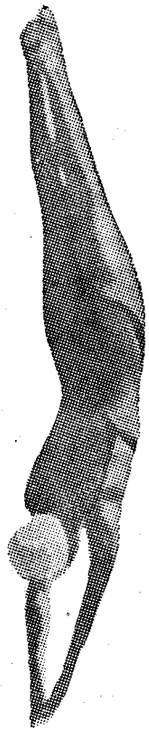

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Miley hasn't any family, but he wants awfully to sink his roots somewhere, though he doesn't want to tie himself down getting married till he has looked the country over. This peculiarity separates Miley, for a while, from his girl. Then the war; he can't do what he wants to with his own life till that's settled. But he doesn't want to go without seeing Sally again. So he gets his friend's wife to persuade her to come out to the house in Brooklyn where they are all going to spend Sunday with Dave's family.

The story begins with the phone call and goes through the Sunday gathering of the Bridges clan in the dingy, dilapidated house that isn't paid for yet—though they seem to have been paying on it the greater part of their lives. Despite boredom, the frantic fuss Mrs. Bridges makes over the baby, the quarreling going on around them all day, Miley and Sally manage to get the business of their lives straightened out; they'll get married when Miley gets his first leave.

The love story is handled with that combination of tenderness and blunt realism—free from self-pity—so generally the mood of young people today who have been made conscious of the war as an interruption, not to say for many the grim mischance snapping off the promise before they have even begun life as adults. Background figures, all, are as sharply drawn, as richly typical as Miley himself: Mr. Bridges who, if he can only sell the house and buy a farm, "Freed of a curse, money in hand . . . would once more be in the market for a dream"; Adele, tied to an ineffectual little sap who can never satisfy her longing to have things but rationalizes his failures as just "unlucky"; Edward, Florrie's young man. The portrait of Edward, young corporation employe whose mental cast is the material out of which fascists are made, perhaps tops them all for the piquancy and sting of its social satire.

Here, in close-up, is a whole stratum of American life. And Miley, quitting his job of producing for the war to get in on the fighting and the dying end of it, for the America of the four freedoms, leaves one confident that the right people—instead of the "wrong guys"—will win.

JANE BURTON.

FILMS

"This Is the Army"

THIS is it! Oh, the listless democracies, oh, the enervated youth of America. Oh, in your hat, Auntie Goebbels. If you haven't learned anything from the heroism of the Dorie Millers, the Meyer Levins—if you haven't learned a thing from Tunisia and Sicily, you ought to take a look at *This Is the Army*. It would give you an idea of the talent, good humor, clarity, and vigor that go into a democratic army. And the morale, it ain't half bad, let me tell you.

This Is the Army is an extraordinary film. Make no mistake about it. It goes down so easy, its elements are so simple, its pace so unforced, that a certain type of "serious" moviegoer accustomed to wrestle with a film as with an adversary might make the error of disregarding the tremendous kick he's experiencing. This reviewer refuses to disregard the real joy he got out of *This Is the Army*. Damn the esthetes and full speed ahead.

Those of us who got such a lift from the stage mounting of *This Is the Army* will meet an old friend in the film version. Not much has been omitted. Perhaps you will miss "The Russian Winter" number. This reviewer will not share your regrets. The happy events of August 5, which listed, apart from the fall of Catania and the airfield at Munda, the twin occupation of Orel and Belgorod, render emphasis on the Russian winter somewhat questionable. On the other hand, the brief appearance of Joe Louis in "What the Well-Dressed Man in Harlem Will Wear" will more than compensate. The impersonations of Jane Cowl, Lynn Fontanne, and Alfred Lunt, are as rib-tickling as in the original, and the finale, "This Time Is the Last Time," as impressive.

In fact, there is enough glory in *This Is the Army* for everybody. And all involved in the proceedings are deserving. To enumerate the swell singles, to dwell on the simple but very adequate story contribution, the excellent Technicolor of the camera crew, a cast that goes from here to tomorrow, the work of Irving Berlin, etc., would take us far beyond the space alloted to this notice. As for the Warner Brothers, surely their cup runneth over. *Casablanca*, *Mission to Moscow*, *Action in North Atlantic*, *Watch on the Rhine*, and *This Is the Army*. And as if this weren't enough to pedestalize the Warner Studio, *all* the profits from the showing of

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This Is the Army, estimated to run to $10,000,000, will be turned over to Army Emergency Relief. Hollywood, Hollywood, what a job you could do.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

DRAMA

"The Two Mrs. Carrolls"

MOST theatrical producers, I am convinced, proceed under the theory that in hot weather, the only criteria for play production, are an air-conditioned theater, a script of no serious pretensions whatsoever, and a box office personality. In *The Two Mrs. Carrolls* (Booth Theater) these conditions are scrupulously respected. The play sprawls through the evening with an indifference to dramatic structure and dialogue that must have been calculated. Such persistent attention to bad writing could not be accidental. Elizabeth Bergner takes full command of the audience with a grand display of bravura. She rides herd on all the tricks in the Actor's Manual, with skill and persuasion.

The action of the play is based upon the felonious habits of one Geoffry Carroll, who likes to get rid of his wives by dosing them with poison. He takes the second Mrs. Carroll to the South of France, where as a painter he can drink in "Beauty." For a full act he emphatically propounds that without beauty there is no life. No one takes the trouble to explain what he means by beauty except that it must be of a homicidal nature. The action begins to quicken when the first wife turns up to warn the present encumbent of his intentions. Love turns to fear, accompanied by a hatful of histrionics, and the play achieves fifteen minutes of successful suspense and melodrama. When the husband realizes the jig is up he shoots himself and the audience is free at last to face the heat of Schubert Alley.

Victor Jory, who plays the wicked beauty-ridden artist husband, is never very convincing as a killer. His part as written remains to the very end more homiletic than homicidal, and there is little he can do about it. In fact the entire cast is much better than the play but all their straining could not make it into another *Angel Street*.

The staging by Reginald Denham is first rate, and from time to time makes you forget the inept dialogue.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

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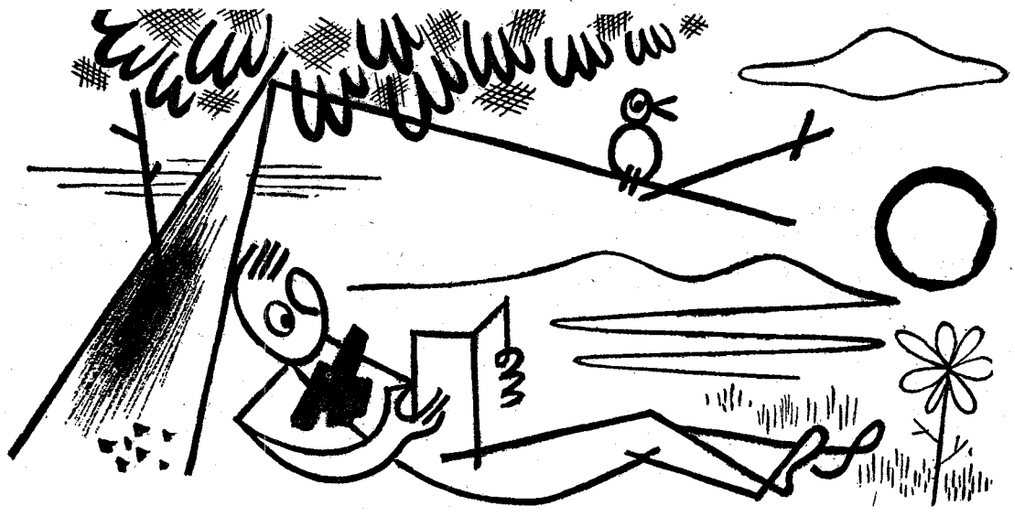

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